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Near East/South Asia Report

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29 March 1984

NEAR EAST/SOUTH ASIA REPORT

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

BRIEFS

UAE-MOSCOW AIR ROUTE--Shaykh 'Abd Allah Al Thani, head of the Shariqah Aviation Department, opened an air freight line between the Emirate and Moscow. The first plane to open the new line was from the Soviet Aeroflot Company. [Text] [London AL-TAMADUN in Arabic No 46, 25 Feb 84 p 60] 9310

CSO: 4404/335

CONDITIONS IMPOSED BY AMERICAN AID PROGRAMS SCORED

Cairo AL-SHA'B in Arabic 3 Jan 84 p 13

[Article by 'Abd al-Qadir Shahib: "Dangers of American Aid to Egypt to the Freedom of Political Decision"]

[Text] Recently the Egyptian government has been interested in increasing the size of American financial assistance to Egypt, which in 1 year has amounted to \$2.3 billion, including \$1.3 billion in military aid and the remainder in economic assistance. The Egyptian government, even now, is still interested in increasing this assistance, and is trying to obtain more of this aid.

However, this large volume assistance, whether it was a grant or a loan, could it not constitute a restriction on Egypt's political freedom to make any decision that it wished and, consequently, negatively influence its political independence? Officials do not raise this question themselves, while trying to increase American aid to Egypt. If economic experts, who do not occupy official positions, pose this question for them, they always have a ready answer; there is no American pressure upon us, and even, God forbid, if this pressure should occur, our decision is ours, and no one owns the power to influence our decision, either to prevent it or even to delay it!

The Question, Once Again

Despite this readymade reply, which dispels the fears and spreads the reassurances about our political independence in the future, the previous question has imposed itself recently, and the attempts of the government to reassure us, that there are no American pressures upon us, no longer in fact suffice to reassure us about the lack of those pressures and that, through it, officials do not have influence on the government, either directly or even indirectly!

The increase in the volume of American financial aid to Egypt, from 1975 up to the end of 1982, amounted to \$7.6 billion, of which Egypt has used \$4.9 billion. America has frozen about \$2.7 billion, which Egypt has not yet used, and negotiations are now underway between the two sides to lift the freeze on these funds and to reallocate them to finance new projects.

During the past few years, America has become Egypt's number one lender and its number one giver of economic aid. America now gives Egypt about 43 percent of the total financial loans and assistance that it obtains annually. Therefore, it has become the owner of a weapon that it could use against us, if we adopted any decision that displeased it. The matter that confirms that is that America has not yet renewed the offer of its financial aid and loans to Egypt for 1984, and this is a year that saw a change in Egypt's economic and foreign policies. Moreover, America was not committed to a large increase in this economic and military assistance, except after ratification of the Camp David accords and the signing of the Egyptian-Israeli treaty of 1979.

After the American government reduced its financial assistance to Egypt in 1976, despite the economic crisis through which it was passing, by about \$92 million, it then increased this aid, starting in 1978, which was the year the Camp David accords were signed, so that the yearly figure now amounts to nearly \$1 billion. During the past few years especially, American food aid to Egypt has increased, so that Egypt now obtains about \$250 million in the form of grain, wheat and flour. Therefore, Egypt has now become dependent on America to obtain more than half of its wheat requirements, which has become a strategic commodity used by nations that can provide it, led by America, to put political pressure on smaller, or even larger, nations!

Terms of Assistance!

It is not only the increase in American aid to Egypt, or rather, the increase in Egypt's being excused for this aid, that gives America the opportunity to exercise political pressure on Egypt, but it is also the conditions attached to the American financial assistance and loans to Egypt that give it another opportunity. These terms amount to a degree of interference in Egypt's internal affairs. One of the most prominent examples of these terms is those conditions that are included in the agreement pertaining to American food assistance to Egypt. In exchange for \$250 million that America gives to Egypt to finance the purchase of American wheat, it imposes conditions upon us, obligating us to 'consult on supports for foodstuff prices, to consult on the prices of agricultural production needs, in addition to improving the climate to encourage the American private sector to invest in the agricultural industrialization sector.'

This is the United States' use of the weapon of food assistance to support its presence, and the presence of American businessmen, in Egypt, in addition to imposing specific policies upon the Egyptian economy. That is undoubtedly tantamount to involvement with our freedom to manage our national economic affairs. This could be extended to our freedom to manage our political affairs.

Various Pieces of Evidence

There have been various bits of evidence during the recent months that reveal the United States' use of pressure against us, by means of employing the weapon of economic, financial and military assistance that it offers to us.

This evidence includes:

1. The American Import-Export Bank's refusal to help in the financing of constructing nuclear plants in Egypt, until after the Egyptian government agreed to raise the cost of electricity to consumers in Egypt!
2. The refusal of the American government to finance installations pertaining to the equipping of the Egyptian Ras Baynas base, unless the Egyptian government permitted the American Corps of Engineers to supervise these installations and its forces take over management of this base. This was despite the fact that the purpose of all this was to ready the base for use by the American Rapid Deployment Forces in the Middle East.
3. The American administration's rejection of the Egyptian government's request to increase economic aid to Egypt, until after compliance with the American proposals which demanded sweeping changes in Egyptian economic policies, including devaluation of the Egyptian pound, reducing the subsidies, increasing the prices of energy and agricultural production and granting foreign investors more facilities and tax and customs exemptions.

On the contrary, from time to time the American government hinted at reducing financial assistance to Egypt, as happened last year, "to persuade" the Egyptian government, in diplomatic language, to agree to take some specific actions or to persuade it against other actions.

America has not been content with merely exerting economic pressure on Egypt, but it has also exerted political pressure. Recently these pressures have been concentrated on urging Egypt to return its ambassador to Israel. The Egyptian government was compelled to give its pledge to American Secretary of State Shultz to return the Egyptian Ambassador to Israel after the signing of the Israeli agreement with Lebanon. It was also compelled to agree to send a senior official of the Egyptian Foreign Ministry to Tel Aviv to discuss Egyptian-Israeli relations. This visit was only postponed after the ratification of the American-Israeli strategic agreement.

All of these pressures point out that American aid to Egypt can be restrictive on our political freedom and not just on our economic freedom, especially since in the best of circumstances, the Egyptian government is content merely to criticize some of the decisions or actions of the American government, and usually does not go beyond that to take a clear and active position regarding those actions.

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CSO: 4504/186

ECONOMIC RELATIONS WITH ITALY EXPLORED IN DETAIL

Cairo AL-AHRAM in Arabic 16 Jan 84 p 9

/Article by Michel Dajata: 'Egypt's Exports to Italy Have Increased 68 Percent; \$253 Million in Italian Loans and Grants to Egypt_/'

/Text/ Commercial relations between Egypt and Italy have experienced a great resurgence this year. Trade between the two countries in 1983 increased by about 68 percent over its level in 1982.

The volume of loans and grants which Italy gave Egypt has also come to about \$253 million, \$45 million of which were grants.

At the same time, the Italian market's demand for Egypt's cotton textiles and readymade clothes, vegetables, fruit and flowers increased.

It was natural that a basic, fundamental shift should occur in the tasks and style of activity of the Egyptian commercial bureau in Rome. This shift was aimed at supporting the center and giving it a strong new incentive to perform its job as well as possible, in order to cope with the new burdens that the development in relations between the two countries requires. It has been reflected in the extreme interest of the Egyptian minister of economy, Dr Mustafa al-Sa'id, and his directives to officials in the commercial office in Rome, headed by the minister plenipotentiary 'Adil al-Jarihi and his deputy Counsellor Mustafa Karam.

Perhaps the most important manifestation of the trade between the two countries is embodied in the following:

The volume of trade between them rose from 1,916,000,000 lira in 1980 to 3,488,000,000 lira in 1981.

The volume of Egyptian exports to the Italian market increased by more than 68 percent in 1983, in comparison with the level in 1982. The value of Egyptian exports came to about 1.73 billion lira as of last August, as compared with 1,031,000,000 lira in the corresponding period up to August 1982.

The volume of Italian loans to Egypt came to \$208 million, \$40 million of which have been disbursed so far. Egypt is being given an opportunity to disburse the rest, \$168 million, by 1984.

A number of protocols have been signed between the two countries. At the forefront of these are protocols for technical training for Egyptians, especially in the areas of electricity, technical and industrial cooperation, fish resource exploitation, irrigation, and the encouragement of capital investment between the two countries.

It is expected that Mr Giulio Andreotti, the Italian foreign minister, will head the Italian delegation to the joint Egyptian-Italian committee on economic cooperation which is to meet in Cairo next February.

Twelve Italian companies are presenting applications to import Egyptian goods, including iron wire, sunflower seeds, henna, flaxen rope, raw cotton, agricultural fertilizer and flowers.

11887
CSO: 4504/172

EGYPT

PREPARATIONS FOR CONFERENCE ON MEDIA AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT REVIEWED

Cairo AL-AHRAM in Arabic 16 Jan 84 p 9

/Article: "The Conference on the Media and Economic Development: Preparations To Hold It Next April"/

/Text/ Next April the conference on the role of the media in economic development and promotion of the organizational structure of the media (the press, radio and television) will be held in Cairo. The conference, which is being organized by the Central Organization and Management Agency, will discuss analyzing the organizational and administrative aspects in the media sector, in its various subdivisions and press organizations, and increasing the capability of administrative performance in the government media sector units.

The preparatory committee of the conference will hold its meeting on 21 January to prepare for the research and studies which the conference will discuss. Foremost among these are:

Legislation and policies. This includes the degree to which media policy is in keeping with the goals of the government and laws, legislation regulating work in the media sector, the issues of freedom of information in the various media, and the organization and management of the media.

Organizational problems. These include the organizational structures of government media organizations, scholarly organizations, the extent to which they are compatible with the nature of media activity, the relationship between the media, with their various organizations, and the other executive and consultative agencies of the government, and the organizational relations between government media organizations and press institutions.

The provision of competent persons to work in the media, training programs, and the moral standards of media work.

Integration and coordination among the various sectors within individual media agencies, and among the nationwide media organizations in Egypt.

Media experts in the Journalists' Union, the universities, the specialized national councils, the Ministry of information, the press organizations, the Radio and Television Authorities, the Higher Press Council, the Central Organization and Management Agency, and the heads of the media and public relations agencies in the government departments will be participating in the conference.

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CSO: 4504/172

PLANNING FOR MASSIVE PUBLIC OPINION POLL REVIEWED

Cairo AL-AHRAM in Arabic 16 Jan 84 p 3

/Article by Labib al-Siba'i: "The Egyptian People's Concerns: The Subject of the First Scientific Poll, Dealing with 10,000 Groups of People in the Society"

/Text In the first experiment of its kind the Egyptian man in the street has witnessed, to measure the dimensions of public opinion regarding citizens' problems and their views of them, 500 male and female researchers and a large group of university professors and experts, along with Cairo University's computer, are preparing to go down into the Egyptian streets for an experiment which will last 180 days, under the auspices of the first university center for measuring public opinion. They will conduct research into the concerns and problems of the Egyptian citizen, his conception of coping with these problems, and his view of the causes for them. In the course of it, they will meet with 10,000 citizens, representing a carefully studied sample of all the groups of Egyptian society.

The first measurement of public opinion will take place on urgent problems and their priorities in Egypt, and public opinion's view of the causes and the treatment, for the first time in Egypt. The first university center to specialize in measuring public opinion, the Center of Public Opinion Research at Cairo University, will carry out the experiment.

Dr Hasan Hamdi, the president of Cairo University, says: "The preliminary project by which Cairo University's Public Opinion Research Center will perform a measurement of public opinion on pressing problems and their priorities in Egypt will proceed from the premise that Egyptian society, in its modern history, has not witnessed as much freedom to express opinions as it is experiencing now. This seems obvious, by what the newspapers are publishing and what the radio and television are offering, and indeed what is going on among people in their gatherings and convocations. People following these opinions can sense a great deal of seriousness, maturity, good intentions, sound purposes, and ideas bearing aspirations for the good of the country, and selfishness and egotism among them are declining to a large degree. It is certain that if these views are analyzed scientifically, they will show that the public interest and affiliation with the nation are the predominant characteristic of public opinion trends in Egypt now."

The president of Cairo University goes on: "The political leaders encourage this phenomenon and encourage its growth. In fact, many new laws and forms of legislation have to a large extent been clear responses to the masses' demands, and it is certain that that makes it obligatory that the universities take part in unearthing public opinion trends, through the sole university center to specialize in the research and measurement of public opinion in an enlarged context. That is something which has not happened as extensively as it is hoped that this poll will be applied, in Egypt or in all of Arab society, since this research will be the first fruit of the center's scientific output."

Dr Samir Husayn, the dean of the Media Faculty at Cairo University and the director of the center, who prepared the research project, says that the measurement of public opinion will deal with three focal questions: first of all, the urgent problems preoccupying citizens and the priorities of these problems, in their opinion; second, the citizens' diagnosis of the reasons for these problems from their standpoint; and third, the citizen's idea and conception of scientific solutions to these problems.

The answers to the first question, as the director of the center says, will articulate the problems as people are suffering from them. Although society's problems seem obvious through general observations and the diverse studies which have been carried out in their fields or areas connected to them, the purpose of this question is to articulate an embodiment of the problems as the citizens themselves, who are suffering from them, see them and as they affect their thinking and conscience, and sometimes their behavior. It is well known scientifically that problems are affected, in magnitude and depth, by the different ways in which they are looked at and felt. Therefore, a problem that might seem pressing to one segment of public opinion might not be so pressing to another segment and might not constitute a problem at all to a third segment. It is expected that the analysis of responses here will change the general statements of prejcgments that have been made without profound scientific study founded on information, thoughts and expectations subjected to a number of variables.

Dr Samir Husayn adds that in another area the orientation toward the ordinary citizen, and his being asked about the issues that preoccupy him, will underline the relationship between the citizen and the government, will deepen the feeling of affiliation and will bring the citizen out of the feeling of frustration and indifference.

The second question, as the director of the center says, will deal with the citizen's diagnosis of the reasons for these problems. It will make it possible to study the citizen's conceptions, the degree to which they are right or wrong, and those which the media must work to correct. That will result in the presentation to the citizens of a correct picture of factors which have resulted in problems and the resources and facilities that have been allocated to the remedy, and that will contribute to the citizen's positive response to reform projects.

As regards the third question, investigating the citizen's notion of scientific solutions to this problem, it would be wrong if the notion prevailed that the intellectual level of many citizens does not make it possible for them to present recommendations with any sense. Indeed, the opposite is correct, since anyone suffering from vexations becomes the one who seeks the hardest to be rid of them and investigate solutions to them. We are not seeking plans for a remedy from the citizen; rather, we are asking him for thoughts about solutions that are going about in his mind. The purpose in that is not just to make use of these thoughts for coping with problems; rather, it is also to carry them out for him, if they are not possible, or benefit from them if they are of use. In the former case, he will realize that the government has not ignored his recommendations, and in the latter case he will feel, in practice, that he is contributing to the service of his society.

The director of the center, who is preparing to carry out the broad experiment, adds "The proposed measurement is not just to collect the necessary facts in order to ascertain views and ideas but also to use their results for national purposes at the right time, subjecting scientific research to the service of national services and problems. That is one of the basic tasks on which universities are concentrating now. The experiment will take place through a sample representing groups and levels of Egyptian society in a manner proportionate to their representation in society, and the backbone of this sample will be 10,000 cases who are chosen in a random manner by scientific means. We have been careful to increase the volume of the sample so that it will be possible for all the sectors and levels to be represented in the sample in suitable numbers. The instrument of research will be a questionnaire which is circulated and tested and whose solidity and validity is measured in accordance with scientific principles. Five hundred male and female researchers who are among the most competent university personnel will take part in the gathering of field data, and they will be supervised by an elite of professors and experts who will review their work in the field and in the office on three levels, to guarantee that the greatest degree of accuracy and objectivity is provided. The field work will be preceded by suitable media coverage to prepare public opinion, so that it will respond to this poll and cooperate with the male and female researchers, and so that the public will be totally confident in giving its views and ideas."

He added that the Cairo University computer would be used to provide the data for this measurement and that a scientific board consisting of academicians and scholarly experts in field research work would supervise all the steps in the research, from its distribution to the issuance of its final report. The performance of the research would take 6 full months from the date on which field work starts until preparation of the handwritten originals of the final report, prior to its publication.

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PROMINENT JOURNALIST CALLS FOR NEWS AGENCY INDEPENDENCE

Cairo AL-AHRAM in Arabic 16 Jan 84 p 16

/Article by Ahmad Baha'-al-Din: "Memoirs"/

/Text/ Journalist colleagues are talking with great anxiety about a memorandum which they say is being presented to the Council of Ministers, calling for the transfer of MIDDLE EAST NEWS AGENCY from its current status as a "nation-wide press organization" to a government body attached to the Ministry of Information.

I remember that we as journalists fought for a long time to liberate the agency from its status as a government body and make it an organization. That occurred in 1980. Now, it is truly difficult for us to understand what benefit it is hoped to achieve by turning it into a government agency of the state once more.

This issue is of concern to all journalists, because it means the conversion of close to 350 journalists registered in the Journalists' Union into government employees.

The issue has a more important side, bearing on the public interest and the ability of a news agency to perform its mission. When a news agency is part of the official government system, it loses much of its credibility and its cables are considered government statements. Moreover, MIDDLE EAST NEWS AGENCY has offices abroad and correspondents who travel on missions, and depriving them of a journalistic character will to a large degree reduce their ability to move, their effectiveness, and the receptivity to their activity as journalists by various bodies abroad.

Moreover, government trusteeship over the agency exists, in the real sense, and consequently a recommendation such as the one that has been presented will increase the government's authority over it only through functional and administrative details.

In many countries, the government has a relationship to the local news agency, as in France, with AGENCE FRANCE PRESSE, and REUTERS in Britain. However, that relationship is not translated into turning journalists in the agencies into government employees, as with news agencies in the countries of the eastern camp, for instance.

When people deal with the agency as if it is an official information department, it totally loses its effectiveness and influence, and this makes us call on the government to think again about this tendency, turn away from it, and retain the journalistic character of the agency.

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CSO: 4504/172

OPPOSITION LEADER CRITICIZES AL-SADAT'S POLICY TOWARD ISLAMIC GROUPS

Cairo AL-SHA'B in Arabic 20 Dec 83 p 7

[Article: "Dr Hilmi Murad on the Al-Jihad Case: Al-Sadat's Restriction of Freedoms Was One Reason for His Assassination"]

[Text] The higher state security court continued its hearing in the trial of the accused in the the al-Jihad organization case yesterday, when the court heard the writ presented by Dr Hilmi Murad, the lawyer, acting as defense counsel on behalf of three accused persons, 'Ali al-Sharif, Husayn Ibrahim and Lutfi Shu'ayb.

Dr Hilmi Murad said that the most important reasons for the incident of the podium, which ended with the assassination of al-Sadat, were the restrictions al-Sadat placed on freedom, which were embodied in the shutdown of opposition papers, the preventing of imams in mosques from giving their opinions on the pulpits of the mosques, and the decrees of detention he issued arresting thousands of political figures and religious figures. In this manner, al-Sadat committed aggression against the Egyptian people on all fronts.

He added "Al-Sadat committed many acts which were provocative in the eyes of the Egyptian people in general and the religious groups in particular, including his statement 'there is no religion in politics and no politics in religion,' thereby challenging Islam. Indeed, I can say that as is well known Islam is a religion and a temporal state. He also received Jews of the likes of Begin, who he said was his brother and friend."

Dr Hilmi Murad said, "The dispute between the authorities and Islamic groups in al-Sadat's era was embodied in the fact that the Islamic groups were against the bases of the conciliation with Israel, as were certain political figures who opposed the stipulations of the Camp David agreement in the People's Assembly, and time has proved through Israel's positions that the fears the Islamic groups expressed on this peace were well taken."

He pointed out that Egypt had become split into two social classes in the era of al-Sadat, the investment community and the government community and the public sector, and there came to be great differences among the classes.

In this period the smuggling of narcotics into the country increased, and he directed thanks to the security officials, who were combatting the smuggling of narcotics today.

Dr Hilmi Murad said, "The confessions the office of the public prosecutor has presented, in the words of the accused, are invalid. They were made after torture, to which they had been subjected in the Egyptian prisons, and there was a period which in some cases came to a number of months between the date of the arrest of the accused by the military investigators and the date of their investigation by the office of the prosecutor, which came to a number of months. In addition, forensic medical reports have proved that the accused were subjected to torture during this period."

He requested that the members of the office of the public prosecutor have judiciary immunity and that they have the immunity that the members of the judiciary have so that they can carry out their mission in full.

Dr Hilmi Murad also denied the charge of trying to overthrow the regime which was directed against the accused, and said that al-Sadat's killers had the goal of killing al-Sadat exclusively; although they could have killed many political personalities, the aim was to kill al-Sadat and not overthrow the regime.

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CS0: 4504/185

OPPOSITION PARTY LEADER CRITICIZES UNIVERSITY DEFICIENCIES

Cairo AL-SHA'B in Arabic 3 Jan 84 p 7

[Article by Muhammad Hilmi Murad: "Our Universities Are in Danger and Need To Be Rescued!"]

[Text] The national movement played its part in establishing the university of modern education in Egypt, as a private university before it became an official one, out of the national people's forces' belief that the university is a beacon which sheds the light of learning and knowledge over the environment, dispels the shadows of ignorance, and paves the way to progress, prosperity and advancement by preparing scientific, intellectual and artistic leaders in various fields of specialization who are in charge of building the edifice of the nation, defending its entire being and enabling it to occupy the position it deserves among the advanced nations. That is its role as an educational institution.

This is the role of the universities as centers of scientific research, through the conduct of scientific research which deals with the problems of society and leads to society's advancement in various fields, enabling it to keep abreast of the educational revolution which our era is going through, which has manifested itself in the smashing of the atom, space travel, the descent onto the surface of the moon, the construction of computers, satellites, airplanes which can operate themselves and other manifestations of advanced technological arts.

Today, now that 75 years have elapsed since the establishment of the first modern Egyptian university, with the celebration of its diamond anniversary, we consider that the situation requires a pause for contemplation not just by the government or the university family alone but rather a pause in which all national forces will take part once again, as they did when they surged forward to establish it, to seek to rescue it from the dangers that have befallen it or to which it has become exposed, so that what is left of the university will not be lost as a source of intellectual illumination and scientific progress, a factory for the graduation of fit leaders who are able to lead the country's affairs in accordance with the most modern scientific bases and the best social values, and a laboratory for offering scientific solutions to the problems of the society, while it is becoming merely

a school for teaching some education and information which is a grade above the secondary schools!

The University Is Suffering from a Group of Crises

The university does not just consist of buildings that are erected or auditoriums that are filled with students so that certificates may be distributed to them following the passing of examinations held over a number of years. Rather, it brings together professors who have dedicated themselves to learning, through research and teaching, who have freedom and independence and are provided with the means for research and study, to whom come people seeking knowledge who have the ability and the fitness to benefit from the lessons and lectures these professors give and study under them to be trained in the use of scientific research instruments and curricula and the possibility of applying them to scientific problems in life.

If that is the definition of the university, to what extent is its image being maintained in our present situation? We are extremely sorry to assert that our universities are suffering from a crisis in the admission of students to university, a crisis in the provision of the necessary resources for the universities, a crisis in the provision of the suitable climate for holding onto their professors, a crisis in preserving the independence of the university and freedom of scientific research, a crisis in the absence of democracy and the university spirit within the university community, a crisis in the style of university teaching, and a crisis in the level of scientific research. I do not want to mention further crises the universities are suffering from, which expose them to a danger which threatens them and which most intensely require that efforts be combined in order to save them from a bad end.

The Crisis in Admission to the Universities

The universities are suffering from a growth in the numbers of people admitted to them, without attention to the provision of the appropriate resources for them, so that a greater number of people who have received the general secondary [diploma] may be accommodated. This has led to an increase in students in theoretical faculties which is beyond the country's needs, since these faculties can absorb greater numbers than the scientific faculties, where admissions are determined by the ability of the laboratories, hospitals and workshops to absorb the students, on the one hand, and it has led to a decline in the educational level in all faculties because of the enormous numbers admitted relative to the number of faculty members and the educational resources available, to the point where scientific study in some faculties has almost been converted to theoretical study!

In order to eliminate this numerical pressure on the universities it is necessary that the students receive guidance before they start the secondary education level, so that students who do not show suitable capability for academic study will be directed toward technical education, which will be improved, and only those students whose abilities qualify them for university study will be admitted to general secondary education, in accordance with the numbers needed for various areas of specialization, on the basis of

carefully studied needs. Thus, we will also eliminate the fear and abnormal atmosphere that accompanies general secondary examinations.

In addition, admission to universities on the basis of the total grade average, as well as the individual's choice, does not result in the choice of personnel who have the greatest ability for study as far as each faculty is concerned. A high overall average might be attributed to grades in subjects which have no relation to the area of specialization in the faculty to which one is headed, and the student's choice might not be attributable to competence or inclination but to aspiration to the social status the graduates of the faculty enjoy or to family pressure. That requires that the system of academic cards in the possession of students be put into effect from the beginning of their levels of education, so that their grades will be continuously monitored and their talents and school observations may be recorded.

Exceptions made regarding admissions to universities have become numerous and have proliferated to the point where they are abusive of the rights of students who are better able to absorb and study and have provoked the anger of young people at the start of their lives, on grounds that they constitute a violation of an equality of opportunity which must be observed. If anyone deserves to be honored or appreciated for one reason or another, there are numerous areas open to him and it is not proper that the area of learning and the university be among them.

The Crisis of the Provision of Resources for the Universities

It is a matter of sorrow that at a time when public money is being spent on many luxuries and in many areas of unnecessary spending, we find that the universities are suffering from a serious shortage in the allocations needed to obtain academic equipment or modern machinery, to renovate workshops, to import various chemicals, books and reference works, or to pay for subscriptions to academic magazines and periodicals. Indeed, some equipment often is broken down because of spare parts that do not cost more than a few tens of dollars!

The fact is that spending on education is no longer viewed as spending on a consumer service; rather, it is now viewed as an investment process, although it is a human investment, not a material one. It is not proper that we should stint money on it; indeed officials must give it the priority in spending it deserves. Therefore, the universities must not be considered service utilities, when financial credits are allocated; rather, they are organizations which prepare leadership personnel in all areas of production; they are "organizations to produce producers."

The Crisis of Keeping the Professors in the Universities

The universities also suffer from a lack of professors, in spite of the difficulty of training them and the money spent to prepare them, in light of the recourse members of the faculties in universities frequently make to assume brilliant positions outside the university. Perhaps the provision of adequate salaries would prevent faculty members from being affected by the material enticements of other positions, since, however we might talk about

the need to sacrifice oneself for learning, professors are human beings and they have commitments and expenses.

It is also necessary that one not be negligent in preparing successive ranks of faculty members, so that it will be possible to make up the shortage that will occur as a result of the departure of some people and keep the level of performance in the universities from being affected.

However, the most important thing that prompts professors to leave the university is the absence of the proper climate which must be present in the university, in terms of research resources, stability of work, freedom of thought, or the sense of democracy and the university spirit. Perhaps it is the determination of "university immunity" to protect them against all arbitrary actions or inconveniences which might befall them because of their opinions or conduct that creates an atmosphere of confidence among them.

The Crisis of Democracy in the University

Perhaps the failure of faculty members in the university to feel that they have the right to choose the persons who will be in charge of directing their affairs is one of the most important factors frustrating the university spirit. If any ordinary citizen has the right to choose the persons who manage his affairs in the context of local administration or the government, then it is really strange that a faculty member in a university, who has reached the highest level of education, should not have the right to choose the persons who manage his affairs in the faculty and in the university.

Indeed, it is strange that the right to elect faculty deans should be stipulated, and then the university president should be given the right to override the person who has obtained the most votes among the faculty members and appoint one of the two people after him to the position of dean! Isn't that unfairness to democracy, in the community that has the greatest understanding of it? Doesn't that cause sorrow in the spirits of the people whose votes have been wasted and at the same time create a feeling of power in the person who has managed to waste them?

The newspaper AL-SHA'B published a report on the events in the election of the dean to the Faculty of Agriculture in Kafr al-Shaykh, Tanta University, where Dr 'Abd-al-Tawwab al-Yamani, who got 25 votes, was passed over for appointment and his colleague, who received eight votes, was appointed dean. Is this to be considered sound university behavior, or does it embody a crisis in the university, as manifested in the protests which the members of that faculty sent to officials in opposition to that appointment?

The fact that the university president is not elected through the medium of the professors, at a time when on some occasions the choice of an appointed university president may not be a good one, for reasons that might be political or have a party flavor, could result in the infliction of many abuses and blatant damage on the university. Examples of this have appeared in the conduct of certain university presidents, some of whom have actually been dismissed while others are still pursuing their activity in spite of the behavior that has been ascribed to them. That is the worst thing that can

happen in the university, that it should be headed by leaders who are unfit and corrupt the educational and family atmosphere that must prevail within the university.

What perhaps conflicts with democracy inside the university and undermines its independence of the government is the fact that the university leaders belong to the ruling party, so that they commit themselves, in their decrees, to the orders issued to them by the party they belong to, which causes faculty members and students of various other political persuasions not to have confidence in the neutrality and impartiality of these decrees. It is necessary that the law on political parties stipulate that presidents and vice presidents of universities, and deans and assistant deans of faculties, not be permitted to belong to political parties, like other groups which it has been stipulated cannot belong to parties, out of concern for their neutrality, so that anyone who assumes any of these posts will relinquish his party affiliation as soon as he occupies that post.

The Crisis in the Method of University Instruction

The crisis in university instruction manifests itself in its conversion to the method of lecturing and economizing with the works written by professors, so that the university student has become a mere receiver and tries to absorb and retain what he receives without being trained to patronize libraries or becoming well versed in the use of the tools of scholarly research or dialogue and debate, which help in the formation of the intellectual scientific mind or the performance of scientific experiments and the conduct of field research which will gain them expertise in application.

The speed of change in the circumstances of society, under the influence of scientific and technological developments, now demands that the man of tomorrow be able to accommodate himself to the new circumstances. The ability to adapt and renovate must be the character of the people we are educating for the future. What is required is the preparation not of "educated people" but of "people who can become learned."

The University Crisis in Scientific Research

Last but not least, the universities are suffering from a crisis in the level of scientific research, which is their second function, next to instruction; that is not at the level which can meet the country's hopes for development. Indeed, they are still faltering, although specialized positions for higher studies have been established for vice presidents of universities and assistant deans of faculties, in view of the fact that their method in achieving their goals and attracting students who have faith in their usefulness has not been adequate, professors are not able to devote sufficient time to supervise them, so that it will be possible to create scientific schools or research, and there is a great deficiency in scientific research tools and equipment, in the number of centers for such research, in the fragmented nature of the government's resources among those centers, without coordination, and in their lack of interest in benefiting from the fruit of the research.

These are "some," but not all, of the crises that our universities are suffering from. There are other crises, related to the university spirit, the student unions, the university administration, the university curricula, and so forth. Perhaps, as I have mentioned, in addition to what I have dealt with in previous articles on the subject, it will be sufficient to indicate that our universities are going through an ordeal and need a rescue operation on the national level, since the university is considered one of the points of departure from which reform must take place, if we are to be serious about building up and uplifting our country.

11887

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HISTORY OF AL-SADAT'S RELATIONSHIP WITH RELIGIOUS GROUPS DESCRIBED

London AL-TADAMUN in Arabic No 40, 14 Jan 84 pp 70-72

[Article: "The Islamic Groups in the Egyptian Universities: Al-Sadat Used Them To Strike out at Nasirism and the Left and They Turned on Him at the Podium"]

[Text] While the Egyptian authorities are continuing to take measures to try some religious organizations, foremost among them the al-Jihad Organization, the Egyptian agencies which are in charge of the universities and young people have started to review their calculations regarding the conditions of Egyptian youth in general and conditions in the universities in particular, following the increase in the numbers of students in the various religious groups and currents inside the university faculties, and outside them as well.

University students and young people constitute 65 percent of the total members of the al-Jihad Organization, which is standing in the interrogation box awaiting word from the judiciary.

In spite of the state of calm which has dominated the behavior of the religious groups in the universities in past months, the reasons for the explosion still exist and the potential [for one] is present. Therefore, the reassessment which the Egyptian agencies are making on the issue of the religious currents and groups inside the universities assumes special importance in the list of problems at issue in the university context in Egypt, since that is the most serious center of influence among the masses, as it comprises about half a million young men and women on the Egyptian scene from Alexandria to Aswan, and is at the same time the sector which the religious tide has begun to permeate in a deep, influential manner.

For a whole decade, the remaining religious currents in the universities went through a large number of developments and contradictions. Ten years ago, specifically in 1971, the Egyptian universities witnessed a series of major student demonstrations when the late president, Anwar al-Sadat, first assumed power in Egypt. These were the demonstrations which broke out following the end of what al-Sadat called the year of decision, demonstrations which the information agencies assisting al-Sadat had watched, on grounds

that they were the activity of left-wing and Marxist currents, as well as the Nasirite current, which strongly dominated the universities in particular in that period, disturbing the late president Anwar al-Sadat greatly. Following the end of the process of sealing off these demonstrations by "police" methods, thought began to be given to creating other student social forces which would in particular oppose and resist everything that was Nasirist, leftist or marxist. No one was more fit to perform that role than the members of the religious groups, which had almost been liquidated when the apparatus of the Moslem Brothers was liquidated.

The Stage of Roots

In the opinion of Dr Hasan Hamdi, president of Cairo University, the biggest of the Egyptian universities, the roots of the religious currents which started to dominate student and youth circles go back to 1952, following the revolution. When young people were prohibited from studying the history of the earlier heroes of Egypt at any level, 'Abd-al-Nasir himself, following his death, was subjected to a fierce attack, when writers started digging and writing, some out of conviction, others out of excitement or caprice, and still others out of an old vengeance and clear vindictiveness, and the people born of 23 July, who had become young people in the seventies, found 'Abd-al-Nasir's whole history pillaged by writers and exposed to criticism and rebuke in a crude, unwise manner, by writers who had been known only for praise and eulogy in their writing and style during his life. The reactions began to follow in succession among groups of young people, Nasirite and leftist groups were formed, and conversely Islamic groups were formed, within the universities at first, and then they became widespread outside the universities, to confront what was called the leftist tide and the Nasirist tide.

Muhammad 'Uthman Isma'il, secretary of the Socialist Union organization at that time, addressed himself to the process of establishing formations of Islamic groups inside the universities and financing them, indeed supplying them with hand weapons and iron bars. At that time he presented Anwar al-Sadat with a weekly report on the conditions of the Islamic groups inside the universities and the development in their numbers within the various faculties. In that period a president of Cairo University, who later became a minister in one of Anwar al-Sadat's cabinets, assumed charge of executing the policy of expanding the university cities in particular to house the students of the Islamic groups, on grounds that the university city represented a student community, in order to make it easy to exert influence over it.

The organizations of Islamic groups started the process of confrontation with all other forces, primarily the Nasirist groups. This confrontation escalated to the stage of skirmishes and clashes with hand weapons, and for the first time the university hospitals witnessed university students killed and wounded who fell in the first of the skirmishes between the protagonists of the Islamic groups and the Nasirists. That was the beginning.

At the hands of the government, under the supervision, then support, of al-Sadat, the Islamic groups emerged to strike out and liquidate the Nasirist

groups. He did not understand or imagine that after some years he would meet his death at the hands of these groups, which he had devoted all his attention to establishing.

Continued Provocation

The government formations of Islamic groups in the Egyptian universities continued to play their part in provoking and standing up to the Nasirist groups, at that time, with direct support from the responsible Egyptian authorities, both ministers and people belonging to the political organization in being at that time. The most prominent of these was the struggle which went on within the university sanctuary in January 1972 in front of the Faculty of Law of Cairo University, in which hand guns and heavy clubs were used. This battle resulted in 59 wounded among the students; they were taken to the university hospitals in the midst of silence in the Egyptian media, and the operations of liquidation continued with the termination of a number of students whose affiliation with the Nasirite groups or leftist groups, which al-Sadat's authorities at that time considered to be a single current which had to be liquidated, had been proved. The university cities, in particular, witnessed numerous clashes every day between the Islamic groups and other currents.

In early 1974, these religious groups took the first step in rebelling against the government authorities. This step, which continued and was followed by other ones, ended with a comprehensive, stark confrontation between these groups and the government, after the terrible rifts which Egyptian society started to experience following the October 1973 war, when the economic crisis was reflected in everything. At that time a large group of young people spent long periods and years conscripted in the armed forces performing military service, given promises of hope for fat years in the future to compensate them for the lean years, but their wait went on, and what the young people received was not in their view in keeping with the efforts and sacrifices they had made or with what they had been promised. On top of that, there was the bad economic situation and the constant rise in prices in a manner which was not in keeping with incomes.

Educational Superiority

Since 1974 the forces of the Islamic groups increased, particularly in faculties which had superior students, such as medicine and engineering, categorically asserting the educational superiority of the students in the Islamic groups. This at the same time revealed one of the reasons for the blowup which occurred against the government, as a result of the contradiction these students faced between their own abilities and their scientific and educational level, and the returns they received from the society, in comparison with what other bad examples were obtaining in Egyptian society. With the start of the dispute between the agencies of the government and the Islamic groups, other more extremist Islamic currents, of which the most prominent perhaps was the al-Jihad and Renunciation and Atonement Society, started to enter the Egyptian university scene.

At the same time, successive waves of security measures were initiated, aimed at limiting the influence of these societies and controlling them, although those did not reach the intensity of the desire to liquidate and eliminate them, since the former president, Anwar al-Sadat, considered that their presence represented a force which he might need to strike out at the left again, in his conviction that controlling them was feasible. Therefore, the process of the struggle between the government and the Islamic groups in the Egyptian universities in particular assumed a theatrical air; when the security agencies stood up to them and arrested hundreds of them, al-Sadat appeared and declared pardons for his children the students. This spectacle repeated itself five times in the 3 years from 1974 to 1977.

The essence of the conflict between al-Sadat and the religious currents in the universities shifted from mere attempts to rebel against dominance by the government to a fundamental clash in the course of two stages. The first occurred when al-Sadat insisted more than once on separating religion from politics or from the government, while these groups' basic concepts and philosophy started to take concrete form in the notion that Islam had rendered judgment on the affairs of life and the affairs of the world and the hereafter.

Perhaps the publications and statements which the members of the religious groups put out in that period were the starting point of the shift in relations between the official organizations of the religious groups and the government; the former imposed broad, comprehensive surveillance over all the powers that al-Sadat possessed and made themselves an official overseer of his. Publications of that period point out that the verses on worship in the Koran numbered no more than 500, though it contained more than 6,000 verses, most of which concerned legislation, politics and economics, and that the prophet (may God's prayers and peace be upon him) lined people up to fight just as he lined them up to pray, signed treaties, engaged in negotiations and ran armies. Therefore, the Islamic religion does not differentiate between the religious figure and the temporal figure. In this sense, al-Sadat realized that the Islamic groups had moved over to a stage through which they sought to dominate all aspects of political, social and legislative life in Egypt, after they had spelled out their position of rejection of all government systems which were not based on Islam, and that the government, if it performed its duty, would be given obedience and loyalty, while, if it was deficient, it would be given advice, guidance, dismissal and banishment, because the created are powerless against the wrath of the creator.

The Visit to Israel

In spite of that, the Egyptian authorities continued to deal with the religious groups with a certain wariness and calmness, as long as their activity was restricted merely to gatherings and meetings and did not assume violent forms. Then came the end of 1977, specifically the period following al-Sadat's visit to occupied Jerusalem, which the Islamic groups considered ought to be rejected from the religious standpoint, regardless of one's political positions.

With al-Sadat's visit to Israel, the picture started to assume a new form as far as 12 Egyptian groups were concerned. The Islamic groups of various forces inside and outside the university now declared that they had moved over from the stage of "advice" to the stage of "asserting their existence" and "banishing" and "causing the submission" of any force that stood in their way. The leaders of the Islamic groups realized that the countdown to the end of Anwar al-Sadat's regime had begun and that they had to prepare to assume charge of affairs after that and hasten to end his regime if the situation demanded.

After his return from Israel, Anwar al-Sadat started to categorize and classify the Egyptian political and social forces that opposed his initiative toward peace with Israel, determining the extent of the effect of each, while the security reports indicated the possibility of increased opposition from the universities in general and the Islamic groups in them in particular. However, al-Sadat, aspiring to attract them to his camp again, was not convinced of the gravity of this force which had acquired strong roots in the Egyptian universities. The events of January and February 1978, 2 months after his initiative, marked a dividing line and the end of these ambitions. After that, Anwar al-Sadat began war on all the forces of the religious groups within the universities in an attempt to eliminate them in comprehensive fashion, but these attempts were not a success, the power of the Islamic groups increased, and their influence and effect grew. Then came the events of January and February 1978, with the student sections in Cairo and 'Ayn Shams Universities, commemorating the passage of a year since the demonstrations of 18 and 19 January 1977, which al-Sadat had called a criminal uprising. Its commemoration in the universities was a frank provocation and clear challenge to al-Sadat, especially when the Islamic groups appeared on the surface for the first time, defining their position of confrontation with al-Sadat's regime and firmly opposing his initiative with Israel and the poor social, economic and political conditions in the country. It appeared as if the Islamic groups had moved on to a comprehensive attack against the whole system of government, starting with the issue of commitment to Islamic law and governance by what God had revealed, passing through the laws issued in the country and the talk about Pyramid Avenue and the night clubs, and ending with al-Sadat's wife's appearance in the surface of the regime and her intervention in many aspects of social and political activity in the government.

The Comprehensive Attack

With this comprehensive attack, the Islamic groups started the stage of declaring their presence and their influence over the Egyptian university community, which one of the Islamic student leaders interpreted in accordance with the tradition of the prophet (on whom be God's prayers and peace) "Whoever among you sees something repugnant let him change it with his hand and if he cannot then with his tongue, and if he cannot then with his heart, which is the least form of devotion," stating that this order applied to Islamic society, whereas in the case of a non-Islamic society, or one in which Islam was in regression, the tradition was the other way around, in the sense that the expression should start with the heart, then with the tongue, then with the hand. The groups went beyond the stage of the tongue and the heart and started the stage of the hand in 1978.

In this period, many phenomena began to appear which indicated that the Islamic groups were starting to enter the arena of action and the display of force. The phenomenon of going into universities in gowns, and full facial veils in the case of girls, increased and bands of people belonging to Islamic groups were formed to enforce the seating of female students apart from male students in lectures and segregation outside the lectures, and to supervise different forms of activities within the universities, athletically by rejecting mixed sports among male and female students and culturally by preventing displays of left-wing and marxist books and sometimes by opposing dances or explicit movies. The important thing is that this supervision was subjected to the logic of force and violence, and heavy sticks or whips in the hands of the Islamic groups were used to discipline their opponents.

With the conclusion of this stage, the dominance of the Islamic groups escalated to the following stage, the stage of legitimacy, in which they presented themselves for the first time for elections to student unions throughout all the universities of Egypt. To everyone's surprise, they had a sweeping victory in these elections, of most if not all the seats, as happened at al-Mansurah University, Alexandria University and a number of other university faculties, all of whose places were taken over by members of the Islamic group. Al-Sadat found no choice but to issue a republican decree abrogating the university elections and indeed a decree abrogating the university students' union and the union of the students of the republic and having elections held to form a federation for students in each faculty in isolation, in an attempt to break up the forces of the Islamic groups within the universities. That is the same decree which dealt with the restoration of the university guard at the gates of Egyptian faculties and universities once again, in an attempt aimed at getting the security [forces] to control student activity, which was rising forcefully in confrontation with the Camp David agreement, and at having the security agencies begin constant unremitting attempts to liquidate the forces of the religious groups and currents in a comprehensive manner following the increase in their influence. For the first time university decrees were issued prohibiting entry in gowns and veils, the clothes the students of the Islamic groups wore, and the decrees of dismissal from the universities included about 2,000 students in the course of 3 months and the deprivation of a similar number from taking examinations because of their membership in the Islamic groups. Indeed, the persecution reached the point where students were kept from entering the university if they had beards or unshaven faces. Then came al-Sadat's decrees of September 1981, putting about 600 students in penitentiaries although instruction in the universities had been in recess at that time. Then the confrontation escalated until the event of the podium occurred on 6 October 1981, and the security agencies were afflicted by a state of touchiness against anything religious or Islamic, whether it was connected to the Islamic groups or not. The processes of making arrests continued in a manner that was almost arbitrary, involving everyone they came upon, with the result that the numbers of arrested persons rose to several thousand. When al-Nabawi Isma'il, the minister of the interior in al-Sadat's era, was dismissed from his position, a stage of rational thinking and objectivity in dealing with the members of these groups was initiated and successive groups of them were gradually released, so that at the present time, as Maj Gen Abu Basha, the current Egyptian minister of the interior, says, their number

is restricted to 50 persons. Meanwhile the official agencies in Egypt for the first time have started a dialogue with the leaders and members of these groups inside and outside the walls of the prisons in an attempt to coopt them or amend and change their notions. Meanwhile, President Husni Mubarak is careful to avoid talking about these groups, the religious figures, or university students in general, and avoid any attempts to interfere in university activity, so that the first university elections will take place in December without interference from the institution of the presidency or the institutions of the government, and a sort of tranquility or quiet will prevail in the university arena in Egypt, although it does not appear clear whether that is real calm or a type that might precede a new storm.

11887

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REPORT ON GAZELLE HELICOPTER PRODUCTION

Kuwait AL-QABAS in Arabic 19 Jan 84 p 29

[Article: "The Gazelle, A Step Toward Transferring French Technology, and an Opportunity to Obtain Hard Currency"]

[Text] "Military Zone--Approach and Photographing Prohibited." This traditional sign that is placed close to Egyptian military installations was removed for a few days, and in its place was put another sign, saying: "Military Zone--Welcome." This occurred during the recent celebrations of the 51st anniversary of the Egyptian Air Forces, when air bases near Cairo opened their doors for the first time for people to watch an air show, which included various types of old and modern aircraft that have been operating in the Egyptian Air Corps since its inception a half century ago.

However, the highlight of these celebrations was the delivery of the first batch of Gazelle helicopters, which Egypt has begun to produce in cooperation with French expertise. Egyptians consider this to be the beginning of an important stage in the history of advanced military production in Egypt.

Story of the Egyptian Gazelle

The story of the helicopter industry in Egypt goes back to 1978, when the idea began of establishing the Arab-British Helicopter Company, in cooperation with the British Westland Company, for a helicopter industry. The company was in fact formed and began to plan production operations.

However, the Arab Industrial Organization was established in the middle 70's, jointly capitalized by Egypt, Saudi Arabia, the UAE and Qatar. This resulted in the concentration of cooperation in war production projects, especially with France.

Before Saudi Arabia, the UAE and Qatar withdrew from membership on the Board of Directors of the Arab Industrial Organization, as a result of severing diplomatic relations with Egypt during al-Sadat's regime, and when Ashraf Marwan occupied the post of chairman of the Board of Directors, a contract was concluded with the French company Aerospatiale, to produce the Gazelle helicopter. The cooperation protocol was signed, stipulating the purchase of a number of these helicopters, on condition that the French firm would

deliver the principal parts used in the manufacture and assembling of these aircraft to the Egyptian war factories, subordinate at that time to the Arab Industrial Organization. That firm would also conduct the ground and air tests for these aircraft at the Organization's factories in Hulwan.

It was agreed to begin production with an average of two aircraft per month, and the production and assembly operations began the middle of last June. Last October, the first Gazelle helicopter was produced and underwent its ground and air tests. It entered service for the first time in the Egyptian Air Force in formations in the air show, held on 27 October during the celebrations of the foundation of the Air Force. The usefulness of this aircraft has been proven. The second and third aircraft were produced on schedule as established by agreement between the Arab Industrial Organization and the Egyptian Air Force command.

The current Gazelle helicopter production plan includes the manufacture of some parts locally in the Arab Industrial Organization's electronics plant, as well as some metal parts that can be produced in the Organization's engine factory, in addition to the assembling of the rest of the parts that are imported by the French firm.

In all the production stages, a joint team of Egyptian and French experts supervise the details of operations and the ground and air tests of the helicopter, after completion of its manufacture, in the aviation testing workshop.

Source of Hard Currency

Responding to the requirements of Arab and African nations for this type of military helicopter was taken into consideration, as well as contracting for maintenance services and the necessary overhauls, after their sale to these countries, as a basis for providing a new source of Egyptian national income, which requires a doubling of its hard currency resources.

Several failures preceded this successful project, beginning 20 years ago, when Egypt undertook to cooperate with India and Spain in the 60's. However, the project was stopped due to financial and technical reasons. Then Egypt was able to produce a jet aircraft in cooperation with Spain. This was the "al-Qahirah 300" aircraft. After the June 1967 war, the project was stopped, but after the October 1973 war, Egypt returned to the aircraft industry. In cooperation with France, it produced the Alpha Jet trainer, parts of which were produced locally, while some spare parts were also manufactured with the assistance of French expertise. Ahmad Zandu, the current chairman of the Arab Industrial Organization, has announced that 15 of this type of Alpha Jet have been manufactured and delivered to the Egyptian Air Force. It is both an advanced trainer and fighter. Ahmad Zandu also said that the Arab Industrial Organization is ready to begin production operations on the Mirage 2000 aircraft. The Organization's plans also include producing a new aircraft for training purposes, to fulfill the requirements of the Aviation College of the Egyptian Air Force. This is the Brazilian "Embraer" airplane, for which a contract has been ratified. Egypt will undertake to export some of these types of aircraft to friendly nations.

Beginning of Technological Transfer

Field Marshal Muhammad 'Abd al-Halim Abu Ghazalah, the deputy prime minister, minister of defense and war production, and commander in chief of the Armed Forces, said that the industrial revolution comes after independence and stability from the long wars that Egypt and the Arab Nation have been through. Egypt is working toward having its war industries support national production, especially since military industries in the advanced nations are considered one of the most important props for these nations' economies.

M Henri (Martir), chairman of the board of the French Aerospatiale Company, said that Egypt's use of French manufacturing equipment in the aircraft industry has helped to implement a great many joint industrial projects, and that producing the first Gazelle helicopter only 1 year after the production of the Alpha Jet was considered a natural extension of the development of cooperation between Egypt and France, which has led to the achievement of the first stage of technological transfer that is the basis of this cooperation.

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ARTIST DISCUSSES ART, POLITICAL FREEDOM

Cairo AL-SHA'B in Arabic 3 Jan 84 p 14

[Article by Hamdi Ahmad: "A Whisper of Censure for You, O Artist Friends!"]

[Text] I do not know whether it is a good thing to have a discussion between myself and you, my artist colleagues, on the pages of your newspaper, AL-SHA'B, or whether we should meet in our artistic guilds, where we could conduct that dialogue between one and all. We talk about our duties to our masses and our nation, i.e., the two matters are correct. I was invited in the spirit of comradeship, to choose what we should discuss in the pages of your newspaper, AL-SHA'B, and we also call for a dialogue in our three artistic guilds.

Let us talk together, here in this column, as a member in the Socialist Labor Party, and let us conduct another dialogue in our three artistic guilds, far from partisanship, but in a national spirit. What have we offered our masses? What do the masses want from us? What is our role, we as artists, with respect to our people? I will leave 'what have we offered' and 'what do the masses want' for that debate in our guilds.

Concerning my message here, it is what is our role, we as artists, with respect to the masses of our people?

There is a whisper of censure, for you, first. are remiss in your role regarding yourselves, because you live in a state of isolation. I believe that many of you are not concerned with casting your votes in the elections or in participating in them in any way. I would not be exaggerating if I said that a large percentage of artists are not registered to vote. Participation in elections by voting is a part of your mission. How remiss you are, you leaders of the people, in an influential and significant position. You are no less than a model for your masses, who give you love and fame. You choose with them the best of their ideals.

Comrades and freinds, don't you think that when you do not participate, that this is a negative attitude on your part? However, on its own, it translates into a refusal. Why do you refuse? What do you want?

From a simple point of view, we find that the People's Assembly has representatives from doctors, or rather, the head of doctors' union, and engineers, or rather the head of the engineers' union.

It also has teachers and university professors, carpenters, workers, farmers, porters and accountants. Artists alone have only two persons participating in the People's Assembly. Why do you shrink from fulfilling this role?

Even in the vastness and heat of the battle, I see that the three artistic guilds do not participate, not even in support of its members, nor do they see that their role and their national duty requires them to descend to the political street.

Don't you understand these words, my brother comrades, that you are remiss in this role with respect to yourselves and your constitutional right, and among the masses and the sons of your nation. The coming elections are an opportunity for you to participate and to fulfill this national duty, to strengthen the belief that your art has a noble purpose. I frequently talk with esteemed colleagues. They surprise me by saying that they are only artists and not politicians.

These words get a reaction, since an artist can only be a politician, or else he could not offer or represent anything of meaning. An artist could not be expressive (actor, director, musician, singer, dancer) if his art was devoid of substance for the masses and the public, even if he only makes them laugh. The masses and the public, with their problems, their lives, and movements on the street, at work and at home, are just governed by politics and economics.

Art itself is a sacred position. This position must be considered. They, the artists, disparage themselves by the words, "we are only artists," because no art is without a point of view and no artist is without a position. Therefore, dear brothers, in your arts you exercise the power of politics. Do you not understand, or don't you want it said that this is politics, because of what this expression has stood for in people's minds, and many times represents the vagrant and prison, and again may represent opportunists who want to ride the wave, boasting about nationalism, while being devoid of nationalism.

However, my brother artists, you do in fact fulfill this role, the role of the politician. No one should pin that accusation on you; praise God, you do not need that! May God bless you with that fame, by which the masses love you, and for which there is no equivalent in the world, no rich man, apart from the positions and glory, as is the ambition of many.

The elections of the People's Assembly, will you participate with your votes? I hope that I will find on the various party election lists the names of some of you, or at least, our three guilds. What do you think? This is the hope of our masses. Will you do it? I hope so, and the masses hope with me.

7005

CSO: 4504/186

BRIEFS

ILLITERACY AMONG WOMEN--There was a clash of views in the Consultative Assembly, at its sessions last week, on the development of the Egyptian woman. The members were divided into two groups, one which demanded that women continue to work and be educated, on grounds that that was a major force for bringing about the eradication of illiteracy in the society, while another group rejected the employment of women and [advocated] their full time attention to the care of their children. The debates addressed themselves to other aspects of concern to young Egyptian women and in the course of them it was asserted that young women are failing to get married at the present time, since bridegrooms have failed to provide conjugal apartments, in view of the steep rise in prices. Nahwat 'Abdallah, member of the Consultative Assembly, revealed that only 9 percent of young girls have been educated, while illiteracy is current among more than 90 percent of the ranks of the women. The government, so far, in spite of all the projects it is providing, has failed to solve this thorny issue. Dr Injil Butrus underlined girls' despair over the the success of the public service projects they are assigned to after graduation, and asserted that it is a failure as a project. [Text] [Cairo AL-SHA'B in Arabic 3 Jan 84 p 5] 11887

CS0: 4504/185

SUDAN

ANTI-REGIME JOURNAL CRITICIZES LATEST ISLAMIC LAWS

London AL-DUSTUR in Arabic 5 Dec 83, 23 Jan, 6 Feb 84

[Article by Dr Asma' 'Abd-al-Rahim: "Observations on 'The Legislative Revolution in the Sudan'"]

[No 315, 5 Dec 83, Supplement, p 4]

[Text] The group of laws issued in the Sudan under what is known as the "legislative revolution," which has been declared to be the application of Islamic law, includes the Law on Civil Measures, the Law on the Judiciary Corps, the Law on Criminal Procedures, the law on Traffic, the Law on the Lawyers' Profession, the Law on the Public Prosecutor and the Penal Code.

Through a mere rapid reading of these laws, one's attention is drawn to the degree of contradiction and confusion and the poor formulation that mar these laws.

In order to round out our observations on the regime's new laws, let us deal with the Law on the Judiciary Corps.

Conditions for the Appointment of Summary Judges

According to the provisions of Articles 21 and 22 of this law, the appointment of summary judges will be as follows:

A. By appointment from among people working in the judiciary corps who have engaged in judiciary or quasi-judiciary activity for a period of no less than 7 years.

B. By appointment outside the judiciary corps, as follows:

First, from among former Grade One summary judges, provided that they have no less than 7 years of legal experience.

Second, from among legal counsellors in the office of the public prosecutor who have occupied positions equivalent to the positions of Grade One judges in summary courts, provided that they have no less than 7 years of legal experience.

Third, from among lawyers, provided that they have no less than 8 years' legal experience.

Fourth, from among people engaged in legal activity which is considered, by decree of the Higher Judiciary Council, equivalent to the activity of legal counsellors in the office of the public prosecutor, provided they have engaged in that legal work for a period of no less than 10 successive years.

The Conditions of Appointment of the Heads and Members of the Judges' Councils

1. According to the provisions of Articles 21 and 22 of this law, the appointment of the heads of judges' councils will be as follows:

A. By appointment from among people working in the judiciary corps who have engaged in judiciary or quasi-judiciary activity for a period of no less than 3 years.

B. By appointment outside the judiciary corps, as follows:

First, from among former Grade One, Two or Three summary judges or assistant judges, provided that they have no less than 3 years' experience.

Second, from legal counsellors in the office of the public prosecutor, provided that they have not less than 3 years' legal experience.

Third, from among lawyers, provided that they have not less than 4 years' legal experience.

Fourth, from among people engaged in legal activity which is considered by decree of the Higher Judiciary Council to be equivalent to the work of legal counsellors in the office of the public prosecutor, provided that they have engaged in that legal activity for a period of no less than 5 consecutive years.

It is clear, from these provisions, that the law has increased the summary judges' years of experience to 7 years and has increased the department judges' years of experience judges to 12 years, whereas the appeals judges' years of experience have been increased to 18 years and those of supreme court judges to 25 years. These are long periods for a country where people are in scant supply, since there is no single judiciary head or judge there who can reach retirement, because of the frequent termination and dispossession of judges.

In spite of the broad powers granted to the president regarding the appointment and removal of judges, he has refused [sic] only to give himself exceptional powers above that which will permit him to make exceptional appointments of judges who are not members of the legal profession, as well as appointments of judges in any judiciary position without restriction to the legal conditions mentioned above, as follows:

Exceptional Appointments

1. A. Regardless of the provisions of Articles 21 and 22 of this law, the president, by recommendation of the chief of the judiciary, may appoint citizens in whom he has confidence who have previously been active in government service and are in retirement as summary judges to engage in judiciary activity in any summary court stipulated for them.

C. Judges appointed on the basis of Paragraph 1.A. will not be entitled to promotion to a higher judiciary position.

2. Regardless of the provisions of Articles 23, 34, 25 and 26, the president, by recommendation of the council, may appoint any judge to any judiciary position without restriction to the conditions stipulated in these articles.

The Inadmissibility of the Contestation of Appointment Decrees

Decrees issued appointing judges may not be contested by any means of contestation or before any judiciary body.

If we review the foregoing provisions, we will find that appointment to the positions in the judiciary can be made from outside the judiciary corps and from among lawyers, and, if we read these stipulations with the amendments made in the Law on the Lawyers' Profession, by virtue of which the president is permitted to assign any lawyer to carry out judiciary activities in the judiciary or the office of the public prosecutor, which is considered a type of national duty, it will be evident to us how the grip over the lawyers has been tightened, by permitting the president to appoint anyone he wants to a judiciary position, without that lawyer's having the right to reject this appointment, which is a national duty, so that he cannot contest the decree before any judiciary body. We have seen that the law, in the foregoing Article 20, has stipulated that it is not permitted to contest the decrees of judiciary appointment.

If all this is clear to us, it will become evident to us that the purpose in all these restrictions is to repress the lawyers and deprive the lawyers' profession of its substance through its loss of independence. The lawyers are losing their most important personal professional attribute, which is independence. There is no doubt that these stipulations in the Law on the Judiciary Corps and the Law on the Lawyers' Profession will be used by the regime as a sword of torture hanging over the necks of any lawyers it does not like, under the claim that the lawyers' profession is one of the two wings of justice, as was mentioned in the reasons for the amendment of the Law on the Lawyers' Profession for 1970, which we will talk about in detail at the appropriate time.

One negative characteristic by which the new law on the judiciary corps is characterized is the elimination of the system of judiciary districts, on the pretext of [ensuring] a rapid review of procedures, by making the court consist of a single judge, under a slogan which is incomprehensible, namely "making the individual judge the master of the procedures." The gravity of

this amendment is no secret to us, since in the old law the court of appeals, for instance, is made to consist of three judges, out of the wise notion of guaranteeing the presence of a number of opinions and profound investigation, and reducing the opportunities for influencing an individual judge.

It is worth noting that Article Four referred to above stipulates that the trusteeship over the judiciary in the Sudan lies with a single judiciary body, which is called the Judiciary Corps. However, stipulations in other exceptional laws give the president the right to form exceptional courts which are not subject to the Judiciary Corps and subject civilians to trial before military courts which are of course not subject to the trusteeship of the singular corps, as is stated in the stipulations.

[No 322, 23 Jan 84 Supplement pp 2, 4]

[Text] We are continuing herewith our discussion of the laws which have been issued in the name of the legislative revolution. In this instalment we will complete our observations on the Penal Code for 1983.

The crimes in this chapter include crimes against the constitution, crimes of treason and espionage, and crimes against the domestic economy.

Participation in illegal assembly, in accordance with the new law, is punished by flogging, fines or imprisonment, in addition to compensation if damage occurs to any public or private property as a result of the commission of the crime stipulated in Subsection One, that is, participation in assembly, and it is obligatory to stipulate compensation, a new penalty which has also been assigned to the crime of rioting.

Article 118 stipulates that the individual punishment for unlawful assembly while carrying arms is prison for a period of 1 year, a fine or flogging.

The memorandum underlined this by stating,

"The law makes mandatory a verdict of compensation in the case of loss of public or private property because demonstrating or going out in political parades squanders people's money. That does not prevent determination where there should be determination, is closer to justice, more suitable if people's rights are not to be destroyed, and more permissible for the ruler in God's view, regarding people's property which is damaged at the hands of other people."

The memorandum pointed out that it is to be noted that the punishment of imprisonment has been given precedence over the punishment of flogging and fines because it is more appropriate to imprison the criminal so that society can be protected from his disruptiveness. In addition, the law has not given the judge discretion in determining the term, as it sets it at a year. The memorandum contradicted itself on that, by praising and commending the punishment of imprisonment, while in another place it mentioned a preference for flogging over imprisonment, as follows:

"The law has relied greatly on the punishment of flogging, because of the sterility of the system of prisons as a deterrent."

Then appeared Article 192A, bearing on influencing the course of justice, bringing back the punishment for the crime, setting it at flogging and a fine or imprisonment. If the purpose was to affect the course of justice through the judge, [the perpetrator] is to be punished by flogging, a fine and imprisonment. It also intensified the punishment when a crime of influencing the accused or the witness is committed by policemen or other people in authority over any accused person or witness or they take part in influencing or help influence any accused person or witness, thereby violating the provisions of the law on criminal procedures.

The memorandum underlined that by stating,

"One of the most important motives for intensifying the penalty is if the person committing the crime is in an advanced position of responsibility in the judiciary, the military forces, the office of the public prosecutor or other areas of responsibility in which one is supposed to feel responsibility, trust and the protection of security and order, by the standard of the holy platform in the Koran:

"Oh women of the prophet, for those of you who commit an obvious disgraceful act, their torment will be increased two times over, for that is simple for God."

There is no doubt that it is necessary to intensify the punishment of people who influence the course of justice when they are in a position of responsibility, but who causes the obstruction of the course of justice by attempting to influence judges and put pressure by them through ministers and senior officials, in order to make them find one person guilty and acquit someone else, which stirred the anger of the judges, so that they held their strike and their repeated meetings, to protest this sort of practice and what they called "justice by telephone," a reference to attempts to put pressure on them and influence them against their responsibility over the telephone in the course of the trial, and in the courtrooms.

The number of the certain policemen who influence justice and terrorize citizens has certainly increased, and they would not have been able to act this way in total freedom and without fear or review had the regime not blessed their conduct and let them, the governors and policemen similar to them act with impunity.

Therefore intensifying the penalties for these crimes is only ink on paper, and the climate of illegitimacy which we are suffering from now in the Sudan will not produce any results.

The new law, in Article 247, has broken homicide down into three categories:

1. Premeditated homicide.
2. Quasi-deliberate homicide.

C. Accidental homicide.

Both 2 and C in the old law were called homicide which did not reach the level of premeditated homicide.

The new law has retained the definition of premeditated homicide as it was in the old law and has adopted the same definition regarding homicide which does not reach the level of premeditated homicide to define quasi-premeditated homicide. However, it has substituted the penalty, making it death or the payment of blood money, as well as amending penalties for other crimes related to homicide by mistake and the killing of children, and the Islamic penalties for these crimes are in the following descending order:

The punishment for premeditated homicide:

Anyone committing the crime of premeditated homicide will be punished by death or payment of blood money if the guardian of the person murdered accepts that.

The punishment for premeditated homicide assuming the form of assassination:

Anyone killing a person by premeditated homicide assuming the form of assassination will be punished by death.

The punishment for quasi-premeditated homicide:

Anyone committing quasi-premeditated homicide will be punished by death or payment of blood money.

The killing of a child:

Notwithstanding the stipulations in Articles 251, 252 and 253:

1. If a woman causes the death of her infant at birth or during the 8 days after it as a result of a mental or psychological state which has befallen her because of giving birth, the death penalty will not be decreed.

2. It is not permissible to sentence someone who kills his own child to death.

3. The original parent will be treated the same as the mother and father.

Accidental homicide:

Accidental homicide is any homicide which results from an act by which the person perpetrating the crime did not intend to cause death or cause harm to the person killed.

The punishment for accidental homicide

Anyone causing accidental homicide will be punished by the payment of blood money.

The punishment for provoking minors or insane persons to commit suicide:

If a person who has not reached maturity, an insane person, a lunatic or a person in a state of delirium or inebriation commits suicide, anyone who provokes him to commit suicide will be punished by death or payment of blood money.

The punishment for provoking the commission of suicide:

According to the provisions of Article 257, if a person commits suicide, anyone who provoked him to do so will be punished by flogging, fines and imprisonment.

The punishment for venturing to commit premeditated homicide:

Anyone who commits an act intentionally or knowingly in circumstances in which if this act causes death the person committing it will be the perpetrator of a crime of homicide will be punished by flogging, fines or imprisonment, and if that act causes harm to any person, the punishment of retaliation or payment of blood money will be imposed.

The punishment for venturing to commit quasi-premeditated homicide:

Anyone who commits an act intentionally or knowingly in circumstances in which if this act causes death the person committing it will be the perpetrator of a crime of quasi-premeditated homicide will be punished by flogging, a fine and imprisonment.

If this act causes harm to anyone, the punishment of retaliation or payment of blood money will be imposed on him.

The punishment for venturing to commit suicide:

Anyone who ventures to commit suicide and commits any act toward the commission of this crime will be punished by flogging and a fine or imprisonment.

Regarding the causing of abortion, harming the fetus, exposing children to danger and treating them cruelly, and concealing a birth:

The punishment for causing abortion:

Anyone who deliberately causes a pregnant person to have an abortion, unless that is through a good intention with the purpose of saving her life, will be punished by flogging and a fine or imprisonment.

Causing an abortion without the consent of the woman:

Anyone committing the crime stipulated in the preceding article without the consent of the woman will be punished by the payment of blood money, and he may be punished by prison and a fine.

Acts by which it is intended to cause an abortion which lead to death:

Anyone committing an act which causes the death of a pregnant woman while intending to give her an abortion will be punished by payment of blood money for the fetus and the mother.

Explanation:

In this crime, the perpetrator's awareness that the act will probably cause death is not of importance.

Causing an abortion unintentionally:

Anyone using force with a woman and thus unintentionally causing her to have an abortion will be punished by payment of blood money.

Acts by which it is intended to prevent the live birth of the fetus or cause the death of the infant after birth:

Anyone committing an act before the birth of the fetus, intending thereby to prevent it from being born live, or killing it after birth, when that act results in preventing the birth of the fetus live or leads to its death after its birth, if that act was not committed out of good will and aimed at saving the life of the mother, will be punished by payment of blood money.

Causing the death of a fetus in the stage of its movement, by an act which is as serious as homicide:

Anyone by whom an act is committed in circumstances in which this act leads to death will be considered the perpetrator of the crime of homicide, when through that act the death of a fetus in its mother's womb is caused at the stage of its emergence, [and] will be punished by payment of blood money.

Exposing minors who have not reached age 18 to danger, and their abandonment by their parents or persons who are in charge of looking after them:

Any father or mother of a child who has not reached puberty or any person under whose care that minor is, who subjects that minor to danger or leaves him anyplace with the intention of abandoning him for good will be punished by flogging or a fine.

Explanation: This stipulation will not prevent the person committing the crime from being tried for premeditated or quasi-premeditated homicide according to the case if the minor dies through exposure or abandonment.

Cruelty in the treatment of minors:

Anyone who is assigned to look after a minor who has not reached puberty, under whose care that minor is, or who has authority over that minor, and abuses him intentionally or neglects him in a manner that results in causing him needless pain will be punished by flogging and a fine.

If severe harm to the health of the child results from the abuse or neglect, that will be punished by retaliation or payment of blood money.

Concealment of birth by secretly disposing of the corpse of the newborn:

Anyone concealing or trying to conceal the birth of an infant deliberately by burying his corpse or secretly disposing of it in any other manner, whether the infant dies at birth or before or after it, will be punished by a fine or prison.

The new law has substituted the definitions of harm and severe harm in the old law by the definition of damage, wounding and the severance of limbs.

Definition of wounding and the severance of limbs:

1. Any damage will be considered a wound which:

- A. Causes the skin to bleed.
- B. Ruptures the skin.
- C. Scrapes the skin.
- D. Ruptures the flesh.
- E. Severs the flesh in more than one place.
- F. Reaches the bone.
- G. Crushes, breaks or fractures the bone.
- H. Penetrates the head to the brain.
- I. Penetrates the body to the interior.

2. Any damage will be considered severance of a limb if it leads to:

- A. The elimination of any limb of the body or its total or partial disability.
- B. The loss of the sense of hearing or sight, speech, or the sense of smell or taste, the elimination of the voice, the elimination of the ability to have intercourse, the elimination of the ability to get up or sit down, or the partial or total elimination of any function of the body or member of the body.

Definition of the causation of wounds deliberately:

A person is said to have caused a wound deliberately if any act is committed by him which has the objective of wounding any person and leads to the wounding of any person, or if it is founded on his knowledge that it is likely that he will wound a person through that act, and that leads to the wounding of any person.

[No 324, 6 Feb 84 Supplement p 4]

[Text] We are hereith continuing our discussion of the laws which were issued in the name of the legislative revolution, and in this instalment will complete our observations on the Penal Code for 1983.

Definition of the deliberate severance of a limb:

A person is said to have caused the deliberate severance of a limb if he has deliberately caused the severance or wound which he intended to cause or which he knew would probably cause the severance of a limb, and the damage that resulted from that was the severance of a limb.

Mistaken injury:

Any injury or severance of a limb which does not occur deliberately, in the sense noted in Articles 273 and 274, will be considered a mistaken wound or severance.

The punishment for harm:

Anyone causing harm will be punished by flogging, a fine or imprisonment.

The punishment for deliberate injury:

1. Anyone causing deliberate injury will be punished by retaliation or reduced blood money.
2. If it is feared that the retaliation will cause the death of the accused person, the reduced blood money will be imposed.

The punishment for the deliberate severance of a limb:

1. Anyone causing a severance deliberately will be punished by retaliation or payment of blood money.
2. The following will be observed in the application of Paragraph One above:
 - A. The blood money will be imposed in full if a single limb of a pair of limbs of the body is severed, with attention to the following:
 1. The blood money of the teeth of five camels, or the equivalent value in Sudanese currency.
 2. The blood money of the hooves of 10 she-camels or the equivalent value in Sudanese currency.
 3. The blood money for the elimination of consciousness, hearing, sight, smell, speech, voice, or taste or the elimination of the ability to have intercourse of the ability to get up or sit down will be 100 she-camels or the equivalent value in Sudanese currency.

4. The blood money for the partial elimination of the abilities stipulated in Paragraph B will be calculated in accordance with the rate at which the abilities have been eliminated.

Causing a wound deliberately by a dangerous weapon or by dangerous means:

Anyone who causes a wound or the severance of a limb deliberately by any shooting or stabbing instrument or any instrument which is likely to cause death if used as a weapon for the commission of aggression, by fire, any heated material, electricity, or any flammable or explosive material, by giving a poisonous or harmful material or by means of an animal will be punished by retaliation or the payment of blood money, with the penalty of flogging or imprisonment.

The memorandum interprets the penalties of retaliation and blood money by stating "The punishment for deliberate murder, retaliation, is the repayment of one thing by the same thing, but if the person under whose custody blood has been shed accepts the blood payment, a verdict of blood payment may be ruled. Our statement is 'may,' since the person giving the verdict may, and indeed sometimes must, give the verdict of blood payment as in the case of murder by assassination, which is any murder characterized by treachery, cunning, and deception which makes the severance of the person committing the crime from society and the warding off of the threat from that person more important than compensating for the damages to the persons under whose custody the blood has been shed. In the prophetic traditions, it has been stated, 'Cunning and deception are for hellfire.'"

The explanatory memorandum also mentioned that the law preserves execution by hanging until death because it has become a familiar process for the persons carrying out verdicts and, since it is carried out in a public place open to people, it will be more deterrent, more likely to eliminate murder and cause greater impact on people's hearts. The law is deliberately opposed to death by the Islamic punishment of the sword, as had been practiced in previous Islamic eras and in some countries which operate under the provisions of Islamic law today. In addition, execution by hanging is a surer form of death and one of the swiftest means of execution.

The memorandum pointed out that flogging means flogging by Islamic law, an average flogging by average means, and is not to be done in a state of intoxication, in severe cold, in severe heat or in a state of severe illness. However, it is not forbidden to carry out flogging in Islamic law with such chronic diseases as diabetes and the like, since there are no alternatives to the penalties of Islamic punishment nor does the judge have any choice in carrying them out, except for the postponements mentioned above in cases of intoxication or severe cold or heat.

Following that the memorandum produces a strange, perverse ruling for which there is no precedent in the past, namely that "it would be good for the judge to complete the flogging by Islamic punishment even after the death of the person being subject to the Islamic punishment, so that his purification may be completed with God." We do not know where they found this strange interpretation, and it cannot be understood how this provision can be

interpreted, along with the statement made in the same memorandum, that it is necessary that "the elements of reprimand and discipline be present in the punishment." What reprimand or discipline can be imposed on a dead man? Striking a dead man is forbidden!

It is to be observed that the punishment of flogging has also been added in the new law to most of the crimes for which penalties of imprisonment or fines were stipulated in the old law.

The law then dealt with the amendment to Chapter 22, bearing on adultery and other sex crimes, stipulating the following:

On adultery and other sex crimes:

Adultery:

1. Anyone inserting his penis or male member, or the detached equivalent, into the vagina or buttocks of a compliant person, without legitimate ties, or has permitted the other to insert his penis or male member, or the detached equivalent, into the vagina or buttocks without legitimate ties, will be considered to have committed the crime of adultery.
2. Adultery will be established by the testimony of four eyewitnesses to the incident of the insertion of the penis or male member into the vagina or buttocks, by explicit confession which cannot be retracted or by pregnancy.

Rape:

Anyone having sexual intercourse with a person who has not reached maturity in the manner stipulated in Article 318 will be considered to have committed the crime of rape, and will be punished by the penalty stipulated in Article 318.

The punishment for adultery:

1. Anyone committing the crime of adultery will be given the death penalty, if he is a person who has been rendered chaste by the institution of marriage, and by flogging with 100 lashes if he has not previously had sexual experience.
2. Males who have not previously had sexual experience will be punished by imprisonment and banishment for a period of a year, in addition to the punishment of flogging.

However, no person whose divine religion stipulates any other punishment for adultery will be punished by the penalties stipulated in Paragraphs One or Two of this article. In this case the person committing the crime will be punished by the other penalty or in the event that does not exist by flogging with no more than 80 lashes and a fine or imprisonment for a period of no less than a year.

Operating a place for the commission of sex crimes:

Anyone operating a place for adultery or the practice of any prohibited sex acts, whether that is in fixed or movable manner in the place, or helping, enticing or provoking any of the foregoing, will be punished by flogging, a fine and imprisonment. In the case of guilt a second time, the person committing the crime will be punished by death and removal or severance in place of that.

Venturing to commit and committing indecent acts:

Anyone committing an indecent act on the body of a person or animal or compelling a person by the use of force or threat to participate with him in committing such an act, or venturing to commit adultery, rape or indecent acts on the body of a person or animal will be punished by flogging and a fine or imprisonment.

As is clear from the stipulations, the difference between adultery and rape is the absence of the element of complicity in rape. In addition the law makes adultery and sodomy equal in terms of definition and punishment. The law has stipulated that there be four eyewitnesses to the incident of the insertion or penetration by the penis or male member of the vagina or buttocks, or that there be an explicit confession which cannot be retracted or pregnancy.

Article 318 stipulates the punishment for adultery, which also includes rape, as the same punishment, which is death for a chaste person (a married person) and flogging with 100 lashes for a person without sexual experience (an unmarried person). In addition, the male adulterer without sexual experience will also be punished by imprisonment and banishment (exile) for a period of a year, in addition to the punishment of flogging. The law stipulates an exception whose gist is that anyone who has a divine religion which stipulates another punishment for adultery will be punished by the penalty which his religion stipulates and if there is no punishment he will be punished by flogging with 80 lashes and a fine or imprisonment for a period of no less than a year.

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CSO: 4504/187

BRIEFS

ECONOMICS MINISTER INTERROGATED--At a recent session of the Sudanese People's Assembly, one assembly member insisted that the minister of finance and economic planning state the reasons which have led to the increase in prices of oil products. The minister's response stirred up a storm of laughter. He defined the reasons as the fact that the Sudan's budget for 1983-84 was planned on the basis of the country's foreign policy, which is founded on good neighborliness and the solution of problems through discourse, but that circumstances changed. This increase in prices is related to the stipulated policy, which now constitutes the base program for the government in the next 6 years, similar to that of the past years, of eliminating subsidies from all commodities. The minister pointed out that other reasons for the recent increases also were the government's self-preservation and the realization of the slogan of reducing the number of people posted on the defense lines. When the member who had raised the question asked the minister whether he was convinced of the reasons which had led to the price increase, the member responded in the negative, since he could not imagine what conditions might arise in the country in the course of the 6 years the minister had stipulated, and at the same time he did not understand how the government could preserve itself with the increase in prices. The last observation is that he was aware that the Sudan was not in a state of war with any other country where the people posted on the defense lines should be reduced. [Text] [London AL-DUSTUR in Arabic No 322, 23 Jan 84 Supplement p 4] 11887

CSO: 4504/187

BRIEFS

CONFERENCE ON PATENTS--In the first half of March, for a period of 5 days, the Ministry of Industry and Mines will hold a specialized scientific council on "The Importance of Patents and Their Use in Industry." Participants will include 60 experts and specialists concerned with the world of industry and the transfer of technology in industrial firms and their installations, and especially the chiefs of technical agencies, and agencies for research and industrial development, planning and follow-up, and technology and design departments, and those responsible for the projects, research, and design. The conference will seek to explain the role of patents in industry in detail, to spur initiative and innovation, to protect the rights of Iraqi inventors, and the organization of industrial property and its regulation. In the course of fulfilling these objectives, there will be many exchanges in the form of research, studies, and working papers which will cover the importance of recording patents in industry, the advantages of a recording system, legal aspects, local and government regulations, and firm agreements on this matter, as well as the information that patents contain and the role of patents in the transfer of technology. The discussion will move to patents in Iraq, ways to protect Iraqi inventors, patent regulations and laws, and other systems. [Text] [London AL-TAMADUN in Arabic No 46, 25 Feb 84 p 59] 9310

CSO: 4404/335

TEL AVIV-CYPRUS SMUGGLING RING UNCOVERED

Tel Aviv MA'ARIV in Hebrew 12 Feb 84 p 13

[Text] There is still more unknown than is known about the smuggling ring from Cyprus to Israel, utilizing light planes, which has recently been in the headlines. The joint investigation by the fraud division of the police and the customs office is still under way.

One of the more serious aspect of the scandal is the lack of control over the planes, which landed at Ben-Gurion Airport loaded with merchandise--especially electric appliances and electronic equipment--which had been flown from Cyprus.

The customs ineptness raises questions--as hundreds of such flights took place in the last 3 years. The planes took off from Sede Dov almost daily and returned loaded with television sets, video cassette recorders, tape recorders, watches, etc. worth millions of dollars. These products are subject to the highest duty. They were smuggled under the customs officers' noses. This is why the investigators suspect that the oversight was not accidental, and that possibly wholesale bribery was taking place.

The prosecution maintains that it was the largest and most wide ranging smuggling ring ever to be uncovered in Israel.

A Military Operation

Attorney Helena Beilin, of the central office in the Ministry of Justice, said in the Tel Aviv court that the smuggling was methodical and planned like a military operation. The leader at the head of the pyramid (and the only one charged so far) is Yosef (Yosi) Suria, 39, of Rehobot, a diamond dealer who holds a civilian pilot's permit. He served in the Air Force as an officer and completed his service as a lieutenant.

Suria, a good looking, well-to-do man who has a diamond business in Cyprus, is accused of having several men under his command, some of whom were actually scared of him. For his smuggling needs he enlisted the services of two former Air Force pilots, one now in tourism, the other in insurance. The three acquired a two-engine light plane. Suria himself was also part owner of another light plane, a Seneca. There was another plane to fly the route, this one a Cessna.

"Clean" Pistols

The planes, flown by Suria and the other pilots, used to take off in the last 3 years from Sede Dov for Larnaca in Cyprus for smuggling purposes. The acquisition of the appliances and electronic equipment was accomplished abroad. To this end--according to the prosecution--millions of dollars were smuggled out. The merchandise, purchased abroad, was brought to Cyprus and from there smuggled to Israel without any duty. Occasionally the pilots used to take along friends and acquaintances, who were not aware of the fact that these supposedly innocent flights were used for smuggling purposes, as the prosecution claims.

A few days ago, when the prosecutor's representative, attorney Helena Beilin requested that Suria be detained pending further investigation, she revealed that loading the light planes with the merchandise actually endangered the passengers' lives, both because of the weight and because of the placing of the items. She explained that a panel at the plane's tail end, near the battery, was removed and the space was adapted to carry the merchandise in specially constructed shelves. The merchandise was hidden there so customs officers would not see them, just in case there was an inspection.

The planes used to take off from Sede Dov but landed at Ben-Gurion Airport, where Suria or one of his partners would lock the plane, go through customs, declare whatever items he had with him and obtain a permit for a local flight to Sede Dov or to the airfield in Herzliya, where the goods were unloaded.

Suria was very cautious and was particular about departmentalizing the operation. He did not reveal to his pilot partners who the recipients of the goods were. "It is better for you to not know," he said.

According to what is suspected, and what has been told in court so far, the Cohen brothers, headed by Ya'akov Cohen, owners of stands in the so-called "Polish Market," were somehow connected with the smuggling ring and it was they who sold the goods smuggled from Cyprus.

Suria--according to the indictment--was not content with just smuggling goods, he also smuggled three pistols. He boasted in front of his friends that these were "clean" pistols, i.e., pistols which have not been used in any crime in Israel, and therefore unknown to the police identification division.

Another detail which was revealed in court is that the partners also discussed the possibility of smuggling out a man whom the police wanted detained in the country.

Suria's attorney, Yehuda Resler, made it clear that the man is no other than Shemu'el Plato-Sharon. He added immediately that contrary to the prosecution's claim, Plato-Sharon had a permit to leave the country.

The prosecution also claims that while Suria and his partners were busy smuggling goods from Cyprus, another smuggling ring started operating last

December, this one headed by the owner of a printing plant in Tel Aviv, who also holds a pilot's permit. Suria, who wanted to maintain his monopoly, did not like that and started threatening the competing ring.

The Decision--In 2 Days

The prosecution's version is that Suria and another pilot slashed the tires of the competing ring's plane, warned its chief to cease flying the route, conducted a body search on him and threatened him with a pistol and a knife. A theft of some smuggled goods from the pilot's car also took place.

At that point Suria was already worried about his phone being bugged and he and his partners turned to beepers.

The suspected pilots were detained as a result of the investigations which started last December. They all made statements and two have become state's witnesses. Suria is the only one who did not admit any guilt.

The prosecution is now asking to detain him pending conclusion of the investigation, claiming that the time has come to do so even for customs duty felonies, since the scope of the smuggling was such that it adversely affected the economy. The question was also raised that he might disrupt the process, since he has already tried to do so in the past.

Suria's attorney, Yehuda Resler, maintained in court that the only reason to detain his client is that, unlike the other pilots, he did not confess. He stressed that up to now the courts never considered customs felonies serious enough to warrant the detention of suspects until the conclusion of the investigation. Suria was described as a man with no record, who received a permit to fly as well as to carry a weapon. "Even if he failed once, his past is impeccable and he should not be treated differently than the other persons involved, all of whom are free, including Ya'akov Cohen, who makes a mafia chief pale by comparison," said the attorney.

Judge Arye Segalson of the Tel Aviv court was to decide within 2 days whether to grant the prosecution's request to detain Suria pending the outcome of the investigation or whether to release him with bail.

8646

CSO: 4423/38

SCIENCE INDUSTRY IN GALILEE DESCRIBED

Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ in Hebrew 13 Feb 84 p 9

[Text] There is a regional map in the Misgav council office showing 26 settlements, with more expected. Last year there were 590 families living in these settlements. It is expected that by next year the number will reach 1,200 and will more than double by 1995. Up to a few years ago Yodfat was the only settlement in the region.

In recent years, settlement of the Galilee has not been of an agricultural nature. It is mostly industrial, a trend which was feared by the settlement authorities. What happens if they fail? How will the settlers make a living? Will the new settlements be abandoned? A quick glance reveals sophisticated plants, advanced technology and a high level of income. In the communal settlement of Ya'ad there are three small plants under one roof. The computer plant employs 20 workers and produces computer programs, too. Last year's business amounted to \$1 million. The second plant produces computer systems for weighing, sorting and counting fruit. This plant is owned jointly with 'Eshet-Elon. Recently the plant developed a fruit sorter which sorts by color. Thus the quality and the degree of ripeness of the fruit can be judged. The plant employs 12 workers. Last year's business reached \$400,000, 20 percent of which came from exports. The same building also houses the architectural firm of the settlement, which is also in the black.

Yovlim, a new settlement in Misgav and the largest in the region (80 families, with construction under way for 45 more), was first settled a year and a half ago by engineers, technicians and electronic experts. They plan to establish sophisticated industries there and be integrated into the industrial park planned for the region. To date eight workers are employed by Fibronics developing a sophisticated communications network (integrated computers and telephones). This is where project Ilan is also being developed in conjunction with the mother plant. Business there amounted to \$12 million in the past year, 90 percent of which came from exports.

Not far from there, on the way to Mitzpeh-Mirveh, REFAEL just opened a production line in the Leshem plant. The plant has modern development labs and production systems of the most recent technologies. This is the beginning of a large park which will occupy 7,000 dunams and employ thousands of workers in the development of many items for Israel's and other countries' defense systems, as well as for the civilian sector. REFAEL responded to the

challenge of populating the Galilee when space along the coastline became too tight for new industries. In a few weeks Galram is to be opened in Karmi'el. The plant is aimed at commercial utilization of REFAEL's technologies and products. It is one of scores of plants planned for this decade in Karmi'el's industrial park. For the past year there has been another subsidiary of REFAEL in Karmi'el--Elgal.

The technological development attracts people from Haifa and its surroundings to Karmi'el and the new Galilee settlements. Giv'at Makosh, a new neighborhood for REFAEL's workers is now under construction. It is to house 360 families. According to the final plan it will have 1,600 housing units, laboratories and offices for the company's employees.

The Misgav region is but the southern flank of the planned scientific region. Its center is to be in Karmi'el and it will reach as far north as Malot, where Elsint now employs 500 workers and Telrad about 200. An industrial school, run by Elsint, is about to graduate its second class of professional workers. Another industrial park is about to open in Tefen, where several sophisticated industries will be established, in addition to Yiskar, which was established a year ago to pioneer the establishment of Kfar Veradim. This industrial park will be a center for technological personnel and engineers, all of whom are expected to be working there.

This is the vertical axis of the scientific region, which in the future may stretch from Safad to the new industrial park which Acre plans to its east. In the heart of the region, in Karmi'el, more than 500 workers are already employed by Elbit and Lamda. A new plant for the production of modern medical equipment will be built by a developer who, for the time being, prefers not to have his name published. According to him, he chose Karmi'el because it is a planned city, its industrial section is clean and extremely well kept, with flowers and lawns, and he wants to be part of the industrial park and benefit from the development, engineering and electronics which will be on location or in the region.

The science region, plans for which started 5 years ago, has not yet been approved by the government. A high ranking commission, headed by former president Prof Efra'im Katzir, recommended the establishment of the region in the Galilee. Minister Gid'on Pat gave his blessing to the plan, too, and promised, many months ago, to present it for government approval. The discussion was postponed again and again. It sounded like the couple who decided to get married and kept postponing the wedding date although the bride was already in late pregnancy. But the marriage is assured.

The plans for the science region are now taking shape. Plants, living quarters for the workers and high speed roads are now under construction. The short cut from Karmi'el to Misgav, which will cut the trip from 22 to 8 km, is almost complete. The Acre-Misgav road has been widened and improved. In the next fiscal year the road from Haifa's suburbs, via 'Iblin and Mizpeh, to Misgav, also will be paved. This road will have a direct connection to Karmi'el. There already is a road from Ma'alot via Tefen and on to Karmi'el, but its section going down to the Bet Hakerem Valley is not ready for heavy and fast transportation. Its construction is being held up by the Environmental Society which objects to the fact that the roadbed mars the mountainside.

Baruch Wanger, chairman of Karmi'el's council, has been astute enough to create one fait accompli after another and thus make the point that this is the most suitable location for a science region, not only for his city but also for the other settlements and the development thereof, so as to draw many settlers to the Galilee and to make the rocky desolation bloom. Wanger is disappointed that in spite of all that is already happening, the government has not yet approved the plan. In the absence of such an approval it is impossible to make any commitments to investors from abroad, who are interested in coming to the region--not necessarily because of pioneering considerations or Zionism--in order to take advantage of the "Jewish mind," which is considerably cheaper than in Silicon Valley.

"There is a tremendous technical potential in this region. Leshem, Galram, the Tefen area and Ma'alot already bring in millions of dollars and they have a brilliant future--if only there were a government resolution which would pave the way for others," says Mr Wanger. He promises that after the government approves the plan, there will be a rush to the region. According to him the plans have been in existence for 5 years "and had the government approved the establishment of the region a year ago, we could already have seen large investment and plans for more."

According to Karmi'el's council chief--who has been to many countries for the sake of the science region--the credit for the accomplishments should be with the Israelis. Investors from abroad could have given them a lot of impetus. He is also confident that the approval will bring about the return of many Israelis. He has met them and has already been instrumental in the return of several families, all of whom have been absorbed by the new industries. "This is not a dream, but reality, just as Leshem has become a reality."

Wanger's development plans show 180 dunams for Galram, three of whose plants have already been approved. The international Ort organization has approved the establishment of a technical college in Karmi'el which will accommodate 1,600 students, half of them from overseas. Wanger thinks that those who will study here will be "infected" with the Israeli virus. This college, along with professional schools attached to the plants themselves, will create a bank of professionals. The development of the science region will also free Karmi'el of the problem of unemployment but will cause a housing shortage. Construction starts are few and there still is land for varied construction, including private construction of single dwelling homes.

Wanger points to the settlements around: They will have sophisticated industries, and the quality of the environment will be maintained, as is traditional in the Galilee. "On the whole I am optimistic. We are at the beginning of the road and the science region is already a fact, thanks to the unlimited patience of the Katzir commission. The government has already been made a partner via the various plants that REFA'EL has built in Misgav and in Karmi'el."

NISSIM'S ADDENDUM TO KARP REPORT CRITICIZED

Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ in Hebrew 16 Feb 84 p 7

[Article by Tzvi Bar'e]

[Text] What exactly did the justice minister try to prove when he published the list of the unsolved terrorist incidents? Anyone who looks at the list can conclude that it is not only the police force on the West Bank which is at fault and does not perform its duty as charged, but that also the Security Services are not worth much. To wit, in the Nissim report it says that in the course of 5 years (from '78 to the end of '83) the Security Services did not solve 54 cases in which Jews were killed or injured. Had the justice minister chosen to be more accurate, he could have added another case: the serious injury of Sgt Suleiman Harbawi, who was totally blinded when he tried to defuse an explosive charge place near Ibrahim Tawil's (former mayor of al-Birah) car. This case, too, where someone from our forces was hurt also has not yet been solved, or has it?

It seems, though, that this time around the Security Services will not come to their own defense and will not publish their own list of hundreds of incidents which have been solved. It can also be said confidently that those 54 cases in Nissim's report also will be solved eventually.

Minister Nissim made his work easy this time. Instead of concentrating on the real issue and examining what, legally speaking, is happening on the West Bank--which is really what his job is all about--he considered the security aspect. He is concerned with who killed more, who hurt more and how many escaped justice.

Thus, in order to update the justice minister on what is going on on the West Bank, here are some facts: In the course of the 5 years with which Nissim's report is concerned (unlike the Karp report which refers to just 1 year) 22 Jews were killed on the West Bank (among them 4 soldiers) and 327 were injured. On the other hand, 43 Arabs were killed and 258 were recorded as injured. The author said "were recorded," because actually there were many more. Those who did not need hospitalization preferred not to report, the reason being that the instructions of the military authorities were to charge anyone who was injured with participation in a demonstration since how else could anyone get injured? In some cases the author used to receive reports of injuries to people that the IDF did not know about and whose names entered the statistics

only after the author handed in the injury report. In some cases patients in West Bank hospitals used to argue with the physicians pleading with them not to report the injuries to the authorities. The instructions are to report any firearm injury brought in to the hospital.

Thus, with all due respect, there are two Arab fatalities for each Jewish fatality on the West Bank. For every reported Arab injury there are 1.2 Jewish injuries. This ought to settle the issue of the balance. And now the question of solving the incidents.

It turns out from the Nissim report that 2 of the 22 cases of Jewish fatalities on the West Bank have not been solved. On the other hand, 8 of the 43 cases of Arab deaths have not been solved (among them the case of the 3 Hebron University students who were killed in one incident). In other words, in the first case there is a 9 percent rate and in the latter a 19 percent rate of not solving the incidents. Again, the proportion is two Arabs to one Jew. Each unsolved case of a Jewish fatality on the West Bank is matched with two cases of Arab fatalities. Why is that?

Those 43 Arabs were killed in one of two ways: shooting by security forces during demonstrations or shooting by settlers who found themselves in danger of their lives. When the security forces shoot, they do not miss. The soldiers know who shot in the air and who shot to hurt. The investigation is usually performed by the commanders of the soldier who fired and they only find out whether the shooting was done according to orders. The author cannot recall a case where a soldier was tried for firing in violation of procedures. But this is a separate issue altogether.

In the latter case the solution becomes more complicated and is nearly impossible unless there are witnesses who are willing to testify, and those are rare. The amounts of weapons in the settlements and the opportunity to change parts of these weapons makes any ballistic test a joke. The refusal to cooperate with the police and collective secretiveness make this aspect of police work totally ineffective. This is the majority of the cases in which it is impossible to identify the person who fired the shot or the person who actually did the killing.

On the other hand, when a Jew is killed, the Security Services enter the picture. They do not have to face a hostile Jewish population. They are not hampered by rules of investigation. They have the authority to detain anyone without undue explanations to curious judges, especially since the judges are in the military themselves. The Security Services have almost unlimited means, financial and others; they need the permission of neither the civilian administration nor the military authorities in order to initiate an investigation, they do not even wait for a complaint by the surviving family in order to investigate. Moreover, the Security Services instruct the IDF as to who is to be detained and the police as to how to write the indictment. They have at their disposal trained personnel, all of whom are carefully screened before being accepted for the job. All these are activated automatically when a Jew is hurt, which explains the high rate of solving these cases, in spite of Nissim's claim.

Minister Nissim ignores all this. On the other hand, in order to maintain a "proper proportion," he adds unsolved cases which happened in Israel proper. He could, for example, propose that the Security Services investigate cases where a Jewish person hits an Arab, and that the comparison would be valid. He could have demanded the establishment of a commission to investigate why the Security Services failed. It is interesting why he did not include overseas incidents where Jews were killed by terrorists. Is it not the policy of the government to consider incidents against Jews in Israel and abroad a terrorist attack? To wit, consider the case of Ambassador Argov and the Lebanese War, where most of the cases have not been resolved.

Minister Nissim knows that the Karp report does not deal with these issues, and it is not concerned with balances of fatalities and injuries. The Karp report deals with Minister Nissim's one responsibility, the legal issue-- justice and injustice and the system charged with them. In his attempt to "balance" the Karp report, Minister Nissim missed the point altogether.

8646

CSO: 4423/38

FUNDS APPROVED FOR AILING LOCAL AUTHORITIES

Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ in Hebrew 16 Feb 84 p 6

[Text] The finance committee approved, on 15 February, as per the recommendation made by the local authorities subcommittee, headed by Member of Knesset Ari'el Weinstein, the appropriation of IS2 billion to aid ailing local authorities.

Member of Knesset Weinstein stated that aid will be given to 30-40 local authorities. Eligibility is currently being determined by the interior ministry, based on guidelines approved unanimously by the subcommittee. Aid will not exceed 50 percent of the deficits. The funds will be given as a 6-month loan bearing "comptroller interest." After 6 months the interior ministry will evaluate to what extent the eligible local authorities meet the terms to which they subscribed, at which point a decision will be made as to whether to convert the loans to outright grants or whether to continue them under the original terms. The local authorities in question are particularly hard up, have been getting aid from the interior ministry for a long time, or they are headed by new officials who inherited the situation when they took office.

The local authorities will have to meet several terms:

Maintain the regular budget and not make any commitments for expenditures the financing for which is not assured ahead of time.

Perform development work according to procedures and payment schedules as set in advance, ensuring that only budgeted work is performed.

Streamline operations of collecting various funds, stressing internal sources.

Adhere to manpower levels to be set by the interior ministry.

Observe all rules pertaining to hiring, firing, regular wage payments, pension payments and severance pay.

Streamline services in the various departments.

Make a commitment to meet all required payments to the income tax, National Insurance, etc.

Promise to avoid overdrafts above the allowable level and avoid unapproved loans.

The committee chairman, Member of Knesset Lorentz, stressed the need to implement the aid plan forthwith, because of the serious difficulties of some of the local authorities and in view of the interest payments with which they are burdened. Member of Knesset Lorentz added that the delay causes frustration and improper functioning. To the best of his knowledge, the sum of IS2 billion is insufficient and he thinks that the subcommittee should continue its deliberations.

The chairman of the Knesset interior committee, Member of Knesset Shoshana Arbeli-Almozlino, called on the government to solve the problem of the high interest payments burdening local authorities, some of which result from the fact that the government ministries delay payments to these local authorities.

Almozlino, who spoke at a seminar for local officials held on 15 February at Binyanei Ha'uma in Jerusalem, said that the government cannot absolve itself from responsibility since it mandated that local authorities base their budgets on a 90 percent inflation rate, whereas the actual rate is more like 200 percent.

8646

CSO: 4423/38

BRIEFS

LOD-MONTREAL COMMERCIAL FLIGHTS--El Al plans to utilize its two new Boeing 767's for two trans-Atlantic commercial flights between Montreal and Tel Aviv. The news was disclosed by the deputy general manager of El Al, 'Amos 'Amir, in a news conference held on 15 February at Ben-Gurion Airport. According to the U.S. FAA rules two engine planes have to be within 60 minutes flying time of the nearest airfield, whereas IATA allows such planes to fly up to a distance of 90 minutes flying time. [Text] [Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ in Hebrew
16 Feb 84 p 4 8646

CSO: 4423/38

NEW REGULATIONS AFFECTING WORKING PERMITS

Kuwait AL-WATAN in Arabic 7 Jan 84 p 5

[Interview with the director of passports and borders for the Governorate of al-Ahmadi, 'Uthman Muhammad al-'Ayban, by Muhammad Basyuni: "New Plan to Prevent Forging of Working Permits and Entry Visas," date and place not specified]

[Text] The director of the Bureau of Passports and Borders of the Governorate of al-Ahmadi, 'Uthman Muhammad al-'Ayban, has disclosed new measures and a plan drawn up by the Ministry of the Interior to prevent forgery of working permits and entry visas.

In an exclusive interview with AL-WATAN he said that this plan was drawn up after careful studies in coordination with several concerned authorities. Its application involves displaying a copy of any work permit issued by the pertinent authorities on a computer screen at the Kuwaiti International Airport and at all of the entry posts. The Ministry of Interior, for its part, will circulate the permits and visas issued by the authorities concerned in the nation to all of Kuwait's embassies abroad.

Director al-'Ayban supported the call for increasing the number of workers in the border posts so that they can load and unload personal effects and baggage before and after they are searched.

He emphasized that getting into and out of border points on crowded traffic days will in the future not take more than 5 minutes. He indicated that the bureau was in the process of entering automated data into the computer in use at the central headquarters and into those of the land- and air-entry centers, just as is being done by the Bureau of Passports in the other governorates. The following is the text of the interview.

[Question] There are complaints against border passport control points for delaying the processing procedure and against some workers in these posts who intervene on behalf of their friends with respect to their processing. What is your view of this?

[Answer] I truly think with regard to the delays that sometimes the delay upon entering or leaving is caused by the presence of many travellers at a given

time. Overcrowding occurs at al-Nuwaysib border center especially on Wednesdays between 1700 and 1900 as a result of the weekly holiday for Saudis in the al-Khafji area.

In regard to the second part of your question about some workers finishing up the processing of their acquaintances or relatives, it is possible that such behavior occurs. We cannot deny this in all cases. If we were to deny that we would be untruthful to ourselves. However, up to now we have not received any complaints in this regard, because there is a sufficient number of employees, whether at the points of entry or departure.

I quite often make one or two visits a week to al-Nuwaysib passport center, particularly during the rush hours. According to what I have seen, the traveller is not delayed for more than 5 minutes during crowded times, and on days when it is less crowded the delay is not more than 1 minute. Soon we will take steps to facilitate the entry and exit process through the entry of automated data into the computer system, as well as the entry of lists of persons banned from entering or leaving.

Workers for Loading

[Question] Although this question may not be within your jurisdiction, we would like your personal opinion regarding what some deputies see as the need for increasing the number of workers to unload and load baggage before and after it is inspected, even if the worker's pay was at the citizens' expense?

[Answer] I support the call for the increase in the number of workers to unload and load the goods, which would help speed up the inspection process and which would help speed up the inspection process and which would give the traveller and the customs inspector more time as well.

The Law's Regulations

[Question] Do you believe that the labor regulations being followed are sufficient to apply the law?

[Answer] Labor rules and regulations are always changing. We ought not to be satisfied with outmoded regulations if we want the best. In fact we, the officials directly concerned, are constantly submitting our recommendations and proposals to the ministry about ways to develop the rules and regulations to be followed, and the ministry is constantly striving to adopt these proposals. Accordingly, it then issues the required decrees to amend the regulations so that they will conform to the rapid developments in the field of passports.

Forging of Permits

[Question] We hear from time to time about forgeries in obtaining work permits and entry visas. In your opinion, what is the reason for that? How can this phenomenon be handled?

[Answer] Forgery of work permits and entry visas is not confined to Kuwait only, but it is found in all countries of the world, where we see that even

banknotes are forged. However, this does not mean that we are pleased by these forgery operations. On the contrary, we must adopt preventive and modern methods to prevent the forgery of work permits or entrance visas. In the State Bureau of Citizenship, Passports and Residence, we have been able to restrict and block the methods of forgers by finding a practical way to subject them to automated accounting and by selecting a better quality of paper to be used and through recorded data for these permits. Since we began this operation there have been no forgeries in work permits. There is a new plan to increase the participation of automated centers, the State Bureau of Citizenship and its branches, and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in expediting the application of this new system so that any work permit issued by the bureau would appear directly on the computer screen at the airport or at all of the entry posts. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs, for its part, would circulate them to the Kuwaiti embassies concerned. This is an excellent step which should block any forgery attempt in the future.

Coordination With the State Bureau

[Question] Does the bureau coordinate with the citizenship committees, and what is the nature of this coordination? Does the bureau receive applications for citizenship from the residents of the governorate and, if so, do you have statistics about the applications which you receive?

[Answer] In fact, the bureau is a bureau of passports and not a bureau of citizenship. The Bureau of Citizenship is still centralized, and the other bureaus in the Governorates of al-Ahmadi or al-Jahara' or Hawalli do not receive any applications for citizenship.

The Director's Jurisdiction

[Question] What exactly are the powers included under the authority of the director of the Bureau of Passports in al-Ahmadi Governorate?

[Answer] In fact, the director of a bureau has no powers, except for administering the bureau itself. The bureau carries out all the actions of the State Bureau of Citizenship, Passports and Residence, except for receiving naturalization applications. These powers more properly are the powers of the director of the bureau.

Automated Accounting

[Question] The bureau has introduced an automated storage system at its main center in al-Shuwaykh. Has this system been introduced into the al-Ahmadi Bureau of Passports?

[Answer] By the beginning of this year, the automated storage system will be introduced. It is not just for storage, but it is to store and maintain entry and visitors' visas and return stamps, all together in the resident dossiers.

Daily Accomplishment

[Question] From the latest statistics, what is the daily business workload? Can you give us the latest statistics in detail?

[Answer] With regard to 1 day's average, Fridays being frequently very crowded with arrivals, there were at one time 508 Kuwaitis, 387 Saudis, 5 Bahrainis, 3 Qataris, 13 Syrians, 17 Jordanians, 3 Turks, 22 Thais and 1 Filipino. With regard to regular days, such as a Saturday, there were 104 Kuwaitis, 211 Saudis, 6 Qataris, 1 Greek and 1 British traveller. This does not include employees of the Arabian Oil Company who live in Kuwait and work in al-Khafji.

It is clear from the latest statistics that the Bureau accomplished the following in the month of October: 1,382 entry visas for work, 945 for domestic service, 118 to join a sponsor, and 1 for study in accordance with Article 23; travel permits--1,703 applications for Kuwaiti passports and travel permits to Saudi Arabia; follow-up and extension of visits--286 processed applications; governmental residence--134 processed applications; visits and unobjectionables [permits of approval]--271 visits, 264 to join a sponsor, and 50 unobjectionables for work; Arab residence--1,748; annulled Arab residence--117. There were also 565 cases whereby information was transferred from old to new passports.

Relations with Deputies

[Question] How do you describe your relations with the governorate's deputies? Do they cause violations of the laws or not?

[Answer] Deputies, or members of the National Assembly, are law-abiding people. I do not believe that there is a deputy who can violate or dare to violate a specific law, because laws have only been enacted to be applied and respected. If there were deputies that violate the law, the country would be in chaos and would not need any laws.

As for the first part of the question, that is, about the relationship between myself and the governorate's deputies, there are deputies with whom I have a personal friendship dating back to the days when I was an employee at the National Assembly. The fact is that I am friendly with all members of the National Assembly based on mutual respect.

[Question] Is there anything that you would like to say, that I haven't asked about?

[Answer] I have an observation for those who consult with us, especially with those departments that have a direct relationship with the public, i.e., the departments of residence, visas, visits and Kuwaiti passports. There are posted signs in each department which spell out the conditions, papers, and documents required to complete each process. However, unfortunately some of those who come to the bureau do not take the time to read these posted signs, and, consequently, the applicant's documents and application end up being incomplete, and he discovers that he has not fulfilled the conditions. Then he has to go to the head of the department or the supervisor or the director in order to ask for help to be exempted from certain restrictions. As a result the time of these officials is wasted.

My request of applicants is not to submit any application until all the conditions, papers and documents have been fulfilled and completed.

7005

CSO: 4404/284

QATAR

BRIEFS

GROSS NATIONAL PRODUCT--Doha, 25 Feb (WAKH)--The gross national product in the State of Qatar rose from 9.877 billion riyals in 1975 to 28.839 billion riyals in 1982, an increase of 17 percent. In a press conference here today, Engineer Muhammad Sa'id al Mashal, director general of the Qatari Technical Center for Industrial Development, said the share of processing industries in this GNP rose from 255 million Qatari riyals in 1975 to 1578 million riyals in 1982, an increase of 30 percent. [Excerpt] [GF260630 Manama WAKH in Arabic 1205 GMT 25 Feb 84 GF]

CSO: 4400/188

FEDERAL COUNCIL APPROVES CIVIL CODE

GF221210 Dubayy KHALEEJ TIMES in English 22 Feb 84 p 3

[Article by staff reporter]

[Excerpts] First 10 articles of the 1,528-article federal civil procedure code which in the words of Justice Minister 'Abdallah al-Mazru'i would lead to the introduction of Islamic Sharia'h in the country, were passed by the Federal National Council yesterday [FNC]. The speaker, Mr Hilal Lutih, was in the chair.

Most of the five-hour long session was taken up by prolonged and often heated debate on some of the 10 articles, while a half-hour closed-door discussion towards the end of the session was devoted to the recent assassination of the UAE ambassador to France and the issue of providing greater security to the country's diplomats abroad.

The house then adjourned till March 6.

Introducing the bill, Mr 'Abdallah al-Mazru'i said it was based on Islamic Sharia'h, as specifically directed by the president, His Highness Shaykh Zayid Ibn Sultan Al Nuhayyan. The minister told the house that "the debate and the approval of the law by the house will lead to the introduction of the noble provisions of Islamic Shari'ah in the country for the benefit of its citizens.

The very first article, relating to the time of the promulgation, and the status of the Qadhis [judges], led to a lively debate.

Members wanted to know why six months time had been given for "full implementation" of the law from the day of its promulgation. The minister said the time was required because of its lengthy provisions and introduction in various emirates.

Mr Hamad Abu Shihab said the whole debate was irrelevant as the law was based on Islamic Shari'ah which does not require any debate or approval or correction by anyone. Only the interpretation by religious experts and Qadhis should be admissible.

The Justice Ministry's legal expert pointed out that the law was based on a similar law promulgated in Kuwait on February 25, 1981, and he waved a copy of the Kuwaiti law for the members to see.

However, Mr 'Id Bakhit said no reference to any other country was needed "as this is our law for our country."

Explaining the article, undersecretary of the Ministry of Justice, Mr Khalifah al-'Aqrubi said it provided for the acceptance of the precepts of all the four imams--Imam Malik, Imam Ahmad ibn Hambal, Imam Abu Hanifah and Imam ash-Shafi'i but the precepts of the first two were admitted directly, while those of the latter two were accepted by interpretation through the Qadhis.

He stressed there would be no difference in its implementation among different emirates, once the law is enforced.

The article was later approved without any amendment.

Other articles concerned personal freedom, freedom of speech, trade and business practices, foreign participation, marriage, divorce, etc., which were all approved without amendments.

FNC Budget

The house then briefly discussed, and approved, the FNC's own budget for 1984, which was estimated at around Dh 17 million.

After this, some members referred to the recent assassination of the UAE ambassador to France, the late Khalifah ibn Ahmad 'abd al-Aziz al-Mubarak, and wanted a discussion on the issue. They also wanted to know what the government was doing to ensure the security for the country's diplomats abroad.

After consulting with the minister of state for financial and industrial affairs, Mr Ahmad al-Ta'ir, about the matter the speaker said he had no objection to a debate, but it should be held behind closed doors. The debate continued for about half an hour, and no statement was issued afterwards.

CSO: 4400/188

ZAYID MILITARY COLLEGE GRADUATES NINTH CLASS

Riyadh AL-RIYAD in Arabic 5 Feb 84 p 17

[Article: "Zayid Military College Among the Greatest Achievements of the Emirates; With Regard to Building Cadres and Graduating Officers in the Armed Forces, the College Celebrates the Graduation of Its Ninth Class of Officers"]

[Text] Abu Dhabi, GNA--The Zayid Military College is considered one of the greatest achievements of the United Arab Emirates with regard to building cadres and graduating officers in the armed forces.

The college celebrated the graduation of its ninth class of candidates since its establishment in 1970. They have been studying there for 2 years, gaining knowledge in military and non-military practical and theoretical sciences. They are graduating with the rank of second lieutenant.

The Emirates have high hopes that this college will graduate officers qualified to join the ranks of the armed forces in the effort to modernize them, to train their personnel in the newest types of weapons, to teach military strategy, and to acquire the modern military sciences, in order that these forces will become secure protection for government operations in all areas.

On Wednesday the college celebrated the graduation of its ninth class of officers; they had spent 2 years undergoing various kinds of training.

Government officials in the Emirates are eager to participate in this college's annual graduation ceremonies in order to demonstrate their interest in the results it is achieving in support of the armed forces.

His Highness Shaykh Khalifa bin Zayid, crown prince and deputy commander-in-chief of the armed forces in the government of the Emirates, in a statement on the occasion of the graduation of this class, expressed his satisfaction with the decision by citizens of the Emirates to become affiliated with this college and with the ranks of the armed forces, and to assist in building the force that protects the country and defends its soil, emphasizing that this decision fulfills a patriotic duty.

The armed forces in the Emirates have developed greatly in recent years, and their strength and continuous growth have become a source of pride for the

government, the governments of the Gulf Cooperation Council, and other Arab governments. Three months ago these forces successfully organized the first joint ground maneuvers with the armies of the Gulf Cooperation Council on Emirates' territory, and this was the first fruit of the continuous cooperation that has been maintained by the presence of the Cooperation Council.

At the time of the declaration of independence of the state of the United Arab Emirates in 1971, studies at the Zayid Military College already had been underway for a year since the state's need to establish new armed forces which would be capable of defending its borders had become apparent.

In 1972 the college produced its first graduating class of officer candidates. It wasted no time in developing, and acquired the capacity to accommodate 950 candidates at one time.

The director of the college states in an interview for the latest issue of the magazine DIR' AL-WATAN, which publishes material on the armed forces of the Emirates, that the college teaches 21 military subjects and 6 academic subjects, and that a new subject is being added this year, which is psychological warfare.

During his period of study, the candidate receives adequate basic and necessary knowledge, which qualifies him to be an officer in the armed forces, conversant in general mathematical sciences, literature, English, in addition to other military subjects and training.

The director of the college adds that professors in the Emirates' University teach candidates at the college, according to a schedule divided into phases, aimed at developing its curriculum. The aim of the first stage is to increase the academic subjects with military relevance, in order to provide the officer candidates with the necessary knowledge.

In the second stage, these subjects will be converted to credit hours arranged with the university; this will encourage officers to pursue university studies.

In the third stage, relations between Zayid and Emirates University will be strengthened for the entire period of study, until the candidate will graduate at the end of the session with the rank of second lieutenant, with academic training equivalent to a bachelor's degree, so that when this stage is reached all officers will be at the university level.

9310

CSO: 4404/335

BRIEFS

LPG PRICE DROP--Dubayy, 4 Mar (WAKH)--The prices of liquefied petroleum gas [LPG] decreased by 10 percent in Dubai from today in accordance with the directives of Shaykh Rashid ibn Sa'id of the UAE. The decision, announced Saturday by the emirates gas bottling company, the principal suppliers of LPG in the northern emirates, means that LPG will now be available to householders about three dirhams cheaper for a 50 lb bottle. Moreover, to encourage conversion of oil fired power plants to gas, the price of bulk supplied gas has also been reduced from 3.50 dirhams per imperial gallon to 3 dirhams per gallon. The managing director of emirates gas, Husayn Sultan, said at a press conference Saturday the price reduction was the result partly of a review of rates in the light of international fluctuations and partly a commercial response to variable local conditions. The reduction has made Dubai's gas the cheapest fuel available in the area not only to householders but also to industrial and commercial users. According to the price reductions, the 100 lb bottle, previously sold for 60 dirhams, is now available for 54 dirhams, the 50 lb bottle for 27 dirhams instead of 30 dirhams and the 25 lb bottle for 13.5 dirhams instead of 15 dirhams. [Text] [GF050556 Manama WAKH in English 1530 GMT 4 Mar 84 GF]

CENTRAL BANK AUDIT--The Central Bank in the Emirates tightens control. The Central Bank of the United Arab Emirates has issued directives to the commercial banks operating in the country requiring them to obtain official authorization from the bank's central office before distributing stock dividends or capital gains or issuing new stocks and bonds. The commercial banks are also required to undergo an audit by the Central Bank before publishing their annual statements. These directives are seen as another round in the series of supervision and control programs being carried out by the Central Bank of the Emirates in order to protect depositors in the banks. Previous directives have required that the commercial banks publish their statements in the local newspapers and observe the principles and laws of accounting in auditing their accounts, and to use increased caution in balancing directly with financial principles. This caution is seen as one of the results of the crisis of the Middle East Federal Bank, which failed in the closing months of last year. The Central Bank is seeking to prevent a repetition of its experience. [Text] [London AL-TAMADUN in Arabic No 44, 11 Feb 84 p 66] 9310

FUTURE OF COUNTRY, DISCORDS, RELATIONS WITH U.S., PAKISTAN

London AL-MAJALLAH in Arabic No 210, 18-24 Feb 84 pp 32-34

[Interview with Ahmad Gilani and Yunis Khalis by Nur Afakhuri; in Peshawar; date not specified]

[Text] In the last issue of AL-MAJALLAH, Professor 'Abd-al-Latif Rabbani, head of the Islamic Society of Afghanistan, spoke about an international plan to resettle about 4 million Afghan refugees in the northwestern border region of Pakistan and in Iran. However, Yunis Khalis, one of the leaders of the Mujahidin, says the plan is intended to divide up Afghanistan into tribal mini-states. The future of Afghanistan and settlement of the disputes between the Mujahidin and Afghan-American, Afghan-Pakistani, and Afghan-Arab relations were the focal points of our interview with two leaders of the Mujahidin, Ahmad Gilani and Yunis Khalis. We begin with our talk with Gilani.

Ahmad Gilani

Ahmad Gilani, head of the Islamic National Front and one of the old Afghan leaders, is regarded as one of the foremost Afghan leaders calling for democracy. We met with him in his home in Islamabad.

[Question] The fact is that the main question raised 5 years after the Soviet invasion is: When will the Soviets leave Afghanistan?

[Gilani] This is the will of God. He alone knows the divine purpose.

[Question] However, if we examine the political and military situation, isn't it possible to estimate the time or give a clear idea?

[Gilani] It is difficult to predict the time. It could be at any hour, any day, any year. What can be said, however, is that if we were assured of financial and military aid from our Muslim brothers and from the free nations, the Soviets would have to leave Afghanistan.

[Question] It is not believed that such assistance alone is enough. There must be a desire to fight and a well-conceived military strategy and tactics as well as coordination between all the Afghan fronts and parties in addition to an international desire to settle the Afghan question.

Gilani I have emphasized financial and military aid. Military assistance is necessary until there is a military decision because without a military solution there can be no political solution. The jihad against the Soviets and communists must go on. At the same time we are prepared for a political solution provided that it is in accordance with our wishes.

Question What do you mean by a political solution? Can the negotiations in Geneva about the Afghan issue be a part of the solution?

Gilani I am in favor of any solution if it reflects our wishes, which are the following: (1) withdrawal of the Soviet Army and (2) independence of Afghanistan and giving the Afghan people the right of self-determination on the basis of Afghanistan's becoming a nonaligned nation.

Question What is your opinion of the Geneva negotiations in which the government of Pakistan and the government of Karmal tried to reach a solution?

Gilani If the negotiations were based on three principles, we would welcome them.

Question But these talks which were recently suspended, were they on the level desired by the Afghans?

Gilani We do not know exactly. We say we are not prepared to violate our principles. The talks and negotiations were carried out indirectly through the United Nations.

Question There is a split today in the ranks of the Mujahidin. What are the causes of the split and what are the disputes about?

Gilani There is no difference of opinion on the liberation of Afghanistan. All the Afghan parties are agreed that it must be liberated, but they differ on what comes after liberation and on the right of self-determination for the Afghan people. We nationalists (Mujaddidi, Gilani, and Muhammad Nabi) want the Afghan people to have the right of self-determination so that they can choose or elect their president. The other parties want to impose their will and their leaders on the Afghan people.

Question What do they want for the Afghan people?

Gilani They want a one-party system, the radical party represented by the Islamic Society of Afghanistan.

Question What is your response?

Gilani Our response is that while we want a free and Islamic Afghanistan, we want the people to determine their political future.

Question Do you support the return of King Muhammad Zahir Shah?

Gilani We do not support it. It is the Afghan people who support and we are part of this people. The king abdicated and withdrew in 1973 and was

succeeded by Prince Daud. When we call then for his return it is as an Afghan leader.

Question There are those who say relations between the Pakistani government and the Afghan leaders (the Mujahidin) are delicate.

Gilani This is idle talk. Relations are excellent.

Question What is the value of the aid reaching you from the Arab and Islamic states and from the free countries? How does it reach you?

Gilani Most of the aid reaches us through the Pakistani government. I cannot give you the figures, kind, or quantity because it comes to the Pakistani government which distributes it to us. However, some of the aid comes not from governments but from some individuals. Most of it is distributed to certain organizations while the other and larger part of the organizations, Mujahidin, and refugees are deprived of it.

Question Mr Ahmad, who is the most powerful individual in the Afghan arena today?

Gilani The man who is supported by all the people.

Question The Western news media are spotlighting Mas'ud Shah as the most powerful man. What is the extent of his power?

Gilani Ahmad Mas'ud Shah is a first-rate fighter, but only in his region. Panjir is a small region and it is difficult for all the Afghan people to support him. Only 1 percent of the people can support him.

Question But why is Ahmad Mas'ud Shah spotlighted and how is this related to his agreeing to a cease-fire with the Russians?

Gilani There are hundreds of individuals in Afghanistan like Ahmad Mas'ud Shah who are fighting bravely, and their forces are much larger than Ahmad's.

Question What is your position on making peace with the Soviets?

Gilani Making any peace with the enemy is in the enemy's interest. No Afghan can make a separate peace with the Soviets.

Question Do you approve of setting up a government in exile?

Gilani The most important thing, as far as I am concerned, is that we unite and that all the Afghans support our union.

Question Can the dispute among the Afghans lead to a split and resort to arms?

Gilani The Afghans will not split nor will brother bear arms against brother.

Question What evidence do you have for that?

Gilani The people's faith.

Question In the course of my tour I noticed that most of your weapons are Soviet-made. What kinds of assistance are you getting from the Arab world?

Gilani This is true. We obtain most of our weapons from the enemy after killing them. The assistance that reaches us from the Arab countries must be increased, especially military assistance.

Question There is no doubt that after the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan America tried to play a role to protect its interests in the region. How do you characterize the relations between you and the United States?

Gilani Up to now America has not played a reassuring role as far as aid is concerned. It has given us only rhetoric and, generally speaking, we are grateful for it, but we do not put much faith in words. We do not seek an American or Western army. We want the means with which to fight. Thank God, we have fighters in the millions. We want support not from America but from our Muslim brothers, the Arabs in particular, for, thank God, they have the financial might and they are in a position to help us. Why should we look toward America? The free market exists and weapons are plentiful there and we can buy them or they can buy them for us.

Question There are about a million Afghan refugees in Iran today and I have heard that they are suffering from many problems and that Iran wants to limit the inflow?

Gilani We thank all those who have given shelter to our refugees. But the situation of the refugees in Iran is very different from that in Pakistan because their freedom is restricted. I have heard that the Iranian authorities are asking the refugees to move to the border regions between Iran and Iraq and be a party in this war, thus endangering their lives.

Question If you returned to Afghanistan and your party came to power, what actions would you take against the Khalqiyin and Parcham (the communist parties)?

Gilani We do not recognize any non-Islamic party.

Question Do you have any Soviet prisoners?

Gilani Sometimes we do take prisoners and we deliver them to the International Red Cross. So you see the myth of the Red Army is shattered.

Question What do they do to those of you who are taken prisoner?

Gilani More than what the Nazis did in their time. They torture and kill them by the hundreds.

Question What is the purpose of your operations in Soviet territory?

[Gilani] The purpose is to frighten the Russians and threaten them in their own country.

[Question] You said before that most of your arms are Russian-made and that you captured them in battle?

[Gilani] Some of them are war booty and others were sold to us by Russian soldiers because they do not want to fight. Still others are smuggled in by the Mujahidin who join the Afghan Army only to get weapons and then turn them over to us.

[Question] Do you get Arab aid regularly?

[Gilani] We thank the Saudi Arabian government and people led by the late King Khalid ibn 'Abd-al-'Aziz and King Fahd ibn 'Abd-al-'Aziz for their great interest in our cause and in the refugees. Their attitude toward us is wonderful.

[Question] How many of you have been martyred?

[Gilani] Almost a million.

Yunis Khalis

Yunis Khalis does not favor halfway solutions. He is one of the few leaders who fight with the Mujahidin inside Afghanistan. We had the following conversation in his headquarters on the way to the airport.

[Question] You are said to be angry with all the Afghan parties and to have dissociated yourself from them?

[Khalis] I am not, and cannot be, angry with the others. Every party has its goals. But for me and those who follow me the holy war must be a purely Islamic holy war. So there is no room for national, ethnic, or secular disputes. There is no leaning toward this people or that. Every Islamic act must be free from any bias. Our Islam requires us to be devoted to God in order that he may lead us to victory. If we are devoted to God and rely not on assistance or money from others or on weapons but on God's help, we will be victorious.

[Question] How can you fight one of the most powerful countries in the world without weapons?

[Khalis] There is no doubt that weapons are necessary. "Against them make ready your strength to the utmost of your power including steeds of war to strike terror into the hearts of the enemies of God and your enemies." Weapons are merely to frighten the enemy, but you cannot rely on them or on assistance.

[Question] On what then do you rely?

[Khalis] "We rely on God so that we will have whatever weapons and money we can get, but God alone will give us victory. This is the difference between someone who relies on weapons and money and someone else who relies on his faith. If we spread the spirit of Islam among the Mujahidin and tell them we do not need money, offices, or seats, their enthusiasm will increase and they will strive for a clear-cut victory. Some of our brethren have policies that tilt toward America or other countries and other sources. I am sure they are mistaken but I think my way is the best.

[Question] But in a letter sent to Salim 'Azzam didn't you accuse Shaykh al-Sayyaf of using the available assistance for his personal benefit?

[Khalis] Yes, I accused him. This is true. I have documents that he himself signed.

[Question] How many Mujahidin belong to your party?

[Khalis] I have fighters and Mujahidin. The fighters fight without knowing the reason for the holy war, whereas the Mujahidin fight for the sake of religion. When one of them captures a Russian and [The Russian] says to him, "There is no God but God," he will forgive him and be merciful just as the Prophet preserved India when its submission became widespread. The true Mujahidin are few in number because most of the fighters yield to the passion of politics and many of them have read the books, but the spirit of religion is something different and they do not know it.

[Question] What are the sources of the arms used by your fighters?

[Khalis] The Russians are the main source. We kill them and seize their weapons.

[Question] Can Ahmad Mas'ud Shah be a leader of the Afghan Mujahidin?

[Khalis] I know Ahmad Mas'ud Shah as well as I know my brother's son. He fled with us, then returned as a Mujahid to the Panjir and became famous throughout the world. I do not think there is evil in him, but I believe halting the fighting with the Russians will harm the others, for every leader can then say: Why should I not stop the fighting, especially since so-and-so stopped it. This is a bad example that should not be imitated. However, Mas'ud had his justifications and he was forced to do [what he did] because his means of communication were blocked. I regret to say they were blocked by some of our brother Mujahidin from among the supporters of Qutb-al-Din Hikmatyar. The Russians did not know that and they had become tired of fighting and asked for a cease-fire so Mas'ud took advantage of the opportunity. And there is he fighting today in Badakhshan.

[Question] Some Afghans whom I met accuse you of being narrow-minded?

[Khalis] May God forgive me! Yes, I am a stern zealot but within the bounds of religion. I am a Muslim and Islam is not narrow-minded. There is mercy in Islam as well as kindness and sternness. God says: "Those who are with him are hard against the unbelievers and merciful to one another."

Question Do you desire an Islamic revolution in Afghanistan?

Khalis I want Afghanistan to be an Islamic republic tolerant of everyone and striving after good.

Question And who is to rule it?

Khalis Naturally the men of religion, not laymen. But the men of religion must be well-informed about religion, for politics is a part of religion. Islam did not bequeath anything to mankind without it being explained in the Quran. The Prophet was a political as well as religious leader, as was 'Umar ibn al-Khattab and the caliphs. It is true that the times are different but the Omniscient and Knowing One knew what would happen today and the true religion at any time and in any place is suitable for mankind.

Question Which quarters demand that the Afghan Mujahidin ally themselves with them in their battle with the Soviet Army?

Khalis It is incumbent upon the Mujahidin to cooperate with anyone who supports the Mujahidin, whoever he may be without causing the humiliation of Islam and Muslims, even if he were a Soviet. I do not believe it is right to humiliate oneself and humiliate Islam for the seats of power and money because the holy war is a holy war for dignity and honor. Nothing that comes to us in shame can bring us honor.

Question Your way of thinking is quite poetic and theoretical, while politics is a concrete fact.

Khalis War is always between the cursed and the good. God says: "What benefits the people abides on the earth."

Question There is said to be a scheme to divide up Afghanistan and relocate the refugees in Pakistan and Iran. What do you know about it?

Khalis I have no information but I do have a comment. We began the holy war relying on the power and assistance of God. God helped us as he helped the Prophet on the Day of Badr. We too now see victory. No Afghan Muslim can survive with Afghanistan partitioned. I have information that Afghanistan might be partitioned among the refugees, with the Shiites assigned certain regions and Persian-speaking people other regions. This is what the Russians are aiming at in order to be able to dominate Afghanistan.

Question Is it possible that a split among the Mujahidin could result in some Mujahidin bearing arms against other Mujahidin?

Khalis This has happened. Regrettably, some Mujahidin are bearing arms against others. A recent dispute led to the death of 126 Mujahidin in Ogun province.

RALLY CALLS FOR UNITY AGAINST INDO-SOVIET AXIS

Dhaka THE NEW NATION in English 1 Feb 84 pp 1, 8

[Text] A workers rally organised by Progotishil Ganotantrik Shakti in the city yesterday called for total unity against the Indo-Soviet axis.

Speaking as chief guest former President and 10-party Oikya Front Chairman Khandker Mushtaque Ahmed emphasised that the nation should unitedly resist external aggressive forces in the soil of Bangladesh.

He posed a question as to why Talpatty island, Dahagram and Angarpota enclaves went out of Bangladesh control.

Referring to India's watch towers, barbed wire fence along the border and her proposal for link canal, he said these pose threat for Bangladesh.

In an oblique reference to Awami League's stand on expulsion of some Soviet diplomats Khandker Mushtaque said the party has clearly identified itself as agents of alien forces. The people of Bangladesh were not afraid of external aggressors but enemies within, he said.

National economy, Mr Mushtaque said, has deteriorated and relationship with other countries has strained over the past few months.

Reiterating his faith in democracy Khandkar Mushtaque Ahmed said his Front took part in talks with the government as part of the movement. He, however, made it clear that the distance between a military regime and a democratic organisation was still there.

CSO: 4600/1563

BANGLADESH, BULGARIA SIGN TRADE PROTOCOL

Dhaka THE NEW NATION in English 2 Feb 84 p 3

[Text] Bangladesh and Bulgaria signed Barter Protocol No-10 on Monday in Sofia providing for exchange of commodities worth US \$40 million, says a Government handout.

Mr S. Hasan Ahmed, Additional Secretary in-charge, Commerce Division, Ministry of Industries and Commerce and Mr Spas Georgiev, Deputy Minister of the Ministry of Foreign Trade of the Government of Bulgaria signed the protocol on behalf of their respective Governments.

Under the protocol, which comes into effect immediately, Bangladesh will export new and non-traditional items like tobacco packet tea, jute carpets, specialised textiles, erust and finished leather and handicrafts apart from traditional items like raw jute, jute goods and hides and skins.

Items listed for imports into Bangladesh from Bulgaria include raw cotton, pig iron, MS Billets, soda ash, drugs, medicines etc.

The new protocol also stipulates a reduction in the swing limit on credit and an increase in the interest rate on amount exceeding the swing limit-both features of advantage to Bangladesh in the context of our export surplus status over the last barter protocols.

Bulgaria has also agreed to lift a portion of their imports from Bangladesh through the Trading Corporation of Bangladesh (TCB).

Later, Mr S Hasan Ahmad, called on Mr Hristo Hristov, Foreign Trade Minister of Bulgaria. Mr Hristov expressed satisfaction at the existing bilateral trade relations between the two countries and hoped that with increased cooperation the trade between the two countries will grow further in volume in coming years.

CSO: 4600/1564

ENERGY MINISTER TALKS TO NEWSMEN ON PRC VISIT

Dhaka THE NEW NATION in English 4 Feb 84 pp 1,8

[Text] Deputy Chief Martial Law Administrator and Energy Minister Air Vice-Marshall Sultan Mahmud said in Dhaka Friday China would "very soon" send a study team of experts to carry out geological survey for exploration and development of hydrocarbon, reports BSS.

Talking to newsmen on his return earlier in the day after a week long visit to China, the DCMLA said the Chinese assistance would include on shore drilling and identification of areas of bilateral cooperation in the field of mineral development and exploration.

The DCMLA said he was deeply impressed by the great strides China had made in different fields and added he was assured of increasing Chinese help in all possible fields. The trip helped him have a "great insight" of the development under the wise leadership of that country.

Air Vice Marshal Sultan Mahmud said he had a wideranging discussions on bilateral cooperation and met over half a dozen ministers during the visit that took him to Shian, Hang Su and Shanghai besides Beijing. He also visited three air force bases and an aviation school.

The DCMLA said the two countries share common aspirations and hopes and was confident of further strengthening of ties in the years to come. He also traced the geographical, historical and cultural ties "reinforced by identity of intent and purpose".

In China, the DCMLA said he also visited Islamic institutions and mosques and found the "tolerance" of the leadership towards Islam. He said he was deeply impressed by the "wisdom and tolerance" of the Chinese leadership in this respect.

Air Vice Marshal Sultan Mahmud said both the countries being in the Third World share common anxiety to improve the quality of life of the people. He called Chinese commitment to South-South cooperation as a "model" for the Third World nations.

The DCMLA said China's extensive use of bio-gas for cooking and lighting was an experience that could be a worthy example for Bangladesh to follow. China is ready to help us in this regard he added.

The DCMLA said he was warmly welcomed wherever he went during the visit to China. He said the exchange of visits at the leadership levels in particular had made meaningful contribution to the strengthening of the existing cordial ties.

He said the two countries shared similarity of views on many issues and have been closely cooperating in the international forums for the realisation of "our shared ideals. In the years ahead the ties would further grow in "substance," he added.

The DCMLA also informed the Chinese leaders, including acting Prime Minister Wan Li of the development activities---the challenging task of nationbuilding taken up under the leadership of President Ershad.

CSO: 4600/1567

INDIAN SHIPS REPORTED DEPLOYED AROUND TALPATTY

Dhaka THE NEW NATION in English 30 Jan 84 pp 1, 8

[Text] Jan. 29: Indian naval ships are deployed around the disputed Talpatty Island after the Indian authority completed survey of the island, a competent source reported here.

Cruisers with surface-to-surface and surface-to air-missiles now patrol waters around the island. Besides, missile batteries capable to hit the island and also deep into Bangladesh territory, have been stationed at West Bengal coasts.

It may be mentioned that just before survey operations on the island by the Indians, a frigate of Bangladesh 'Abu Baker' was cordoned off by Indian naval vessels while it was on a routine patrol near the island. However the vessel was later released after an urgently convened flag meeting.

The Indian side has unilaterally demarcated a point nearly two kilometres east of Talpatty and asserted that Bangladesh vessels will not be allowed beyond that point.

CSO: 4600/1562

PROBLEMS IN SETTING UP EXPORT ZONE NOTED

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 3 Feb 84 p 1

[Text] The Export Processing Zones Authority (EPZA) is running short of experts and other logistic supports for processing 244 project proposals submitted by foreign and local investors.

Out of 244 projects, 88 will be set up in export processing zone in Chittagong and 156 in proposed airport based EPZ in Dhaka.

The EPZA has given sanction to only 30 projects for Chittagong export processing zone out of which ten are already operating outside the EPZ area.

Incidentally, the inauguration of the Chittagong EPZ has already been delayed and it is expected that the first export processing zone of the country in Chittagong will be opened next month. Two projects are ready to go into operation inside the EPZ area and two others will go into production next month. The implementation of 14 other projects have been delayed due to restriction on using local banking facilities according to an EPZA source. The source however said the restriction has been relaxed and these projects are under process of implementation.

Meanwhile, the EPZA has received 156 project proposals from local and foreign investors for the proposed airport based EPZ in Dhaka. The authority invited proposals before selecting the site for the proposed zone. It is learnt that a site selection committee is working to find out the suitable place for the purpose. The committee is likely to select an area in Mirpur for garments industry and another area near Zia International Airport for setting up electronic industry.

The delay in selection of site in Dhaka for EPZ may frustrate the move to attract foreign investment. Number of foreign investors mainly from the Western countries visited the EPZA office to know about the airport based EPZ.

There are three types of investment in the EPZ-100 per cent foreign-owned investment joint venture and 100 per cent local. Out of 88 projects in Chittagong zone, five projects are 100 per cent foreign-owned investment, 41 projects joint ventures and 42 are 100 per cent local. Of the 88 projects 55 are garments industry, five electronic industry, five others chemicals and

cosmetics, seven projects fruit-processing, three engineering, two leather industry and nine others miscellaneous.

The manpower shortage, absence of a fullfledged office in Dhaka which is the first port of entry for the foreign investors and shortage of transport facilities have been hempering the working of the EPZA. The authority has no chief economist as yet, who will be responsible for scrutinising the projects.

In the Chittagong EPZ already two warehouses and roads have been constructed and telecommunication facilities installed. Sixty-four industrial plots are now ready for construction inside the EPZ Chittagong.

The Government decided to set up export processing zone to boost up foreign investment in promoting economic development. But the inordinate delay in launching the project has caused in the meanwhile immense harm to the national development efforts.

CSO: 4600/1565

JSD LEADERS HOLD DIALOG WITH ERSHAD

Dhaka THE NEW NATION in English 29 Jan 84 pp 1,8

[Text] Jatiya Samastantrik Dal (JSD) President Major (retd.) M.A. yesterday demanded formation of a national government with all the nationalist force which he said would not only unify the country but would give a stable government that is now an imperative in the context of Indo-Soviet aggressive design.

In the 70-minute dialogue with President Ershad at the Bangabhaban Mr Jalil, who represented the Jatiya Samajtantri Dal along with JSD executive member S.M. Kabir Ahmed and Ershaduddin Milky, convenor of the party's legal advice committee, said that he joined the dialogue to discuss some important issues not related with the dialogue as he felt that the country's very independence and sovereignty were seriously threatened by the Indo-Soviet aggressive design.

On the other side of the table President General Ershad was assisted by his Special Assistant, Ministers in charge of Home, Establishment, Education and Agriculture Divisions and the General Staff Officer to the CMLA Major (retd.) Jalil submitted a 14-point charter of demands on the basis of which the dialogue was conducted. In the charter the JSD leader demanded open politics with freedom of the press and said this will help organise the patriotic and nationalist forces against the Indo-Soviet design at the present juncture of nation.

Pledging the last drop of blood of himself and his party's worker of all rank and file he appealed to the President to unite the nation against the Indo-Soviet design and said that only the President could unite the country's nationalist forces under one banner of Bangladeshi nationalism at this time of crisis to save the country.

Regarding the major alliances Mr Jalil said that these alliances included elements of the past governments who during their rule divided the country into beats and pieces instead of uniting and some of them destroyed democracy during their tenure. He also opposed the system of country's politics leading inheritance.

Terming the concept of upazila parishad as a revolutionary one which put an end to the age-old colonial system and introduced village oriented people's politics he called for holding the upazila parishad election on schedule and said that with his rank and file he will go all-out to throttle any attempt by vested quarters to set aside upazila election.

Briefing the newsmen at the Bangabhaban Barrister A.R. Yusuf, Special Assistant to the President said that during the talk Mr Jaleel emphatically and emotionally appealed for the review of the conviction of JSD leader Gholam Mustafa and called for his release. He said, for giving consideration to this demand recalling the contribution of Gholam Mustafa during the creation of Bangladesh and afterwards the President will receive gratitude of all the freedom fighters and the JSD rank and file. Calling for taking realistic measures to uphold the religious values and the nationalist spirit Mr Jaleel said mainstream of our national life should be dominated by Islam which is a completely non-communal and democratic philosophy.

During the talks with the President Mr Jaleel called for withdrawal of cases and warrants of arrest against political workers and university students and review of the convictions and scope for appeal in the High Court for the convicted students of Rajshahi University and the members of the armed forces.

During the talks Major (retd.) M.A. Jalil presented a book authored by himself entitled "Bangladesh nationalist movement for unity--a historical necessity".

The book was dedicated to the ever struggling and freedom loving people of Bangladesh and did not bear any identity of the author as the JSD chief.

Replying to a question by the newsmen Barrister A.R. Yusuf confirmed that Major (Retd.) M.A. Jalil attended the dialogue as the head of the JSD.

When told that Major (Retd.) Jalil was stripped of all the powers by the party central committee to represent the party by any statement or anything like this Barrister Yusuf said with a smile, "thank you for the information". "We do not know of any parenthesis after the name of JSD", he added while replying to another question.

Today's Dialogue

Janadal will attend the dialogue with the President today. This was revealed by the Special Assistant to the President Barrister A.R. Yusuf after yesterday's dialogue with Major (Retd.) M.A. Jalil.

Another organisation of the Hindu community may also be tagged in today's schedule subject to their availability, he added.

CSO: 4600/1561

PRESS REPORTS DEVELOPMENTS, DISSENSION IN JSD

Jalil Resignation Statement

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 4 Feb 84 pp 1, 10

[Text] Major (Retd) M.A. Jalil President of Jatiya Samajtantrik Dal on Friday said that he was "equally responsible" for instability in the country because of political ideology so long followed by him. He parried a question whether the ideology propagated by him and his party leader Sirajul Alam Khan "infused ambitions" resulting in series of coups.

Mr Jalil was addressing a Press conference at the National Press Club to announce his decision to sever all connections with the political process followed by Jatiya Samajtantrik Dal (JSD).

In a three-page cyclostyled statement, he said that he did not find any reason to cling to a political process which could not form a stable government in the country. Stating this as the reason for his stepping aside from the party Mr Jalil added that though the leaders and workers suffered much for the cause of politics actually they were used as stooges. He further said the state power in developing countries were actually controlled by the Armed Forces, which is a disciplined force and an institution in true sense. Next comes the bureaucracy these two organisations are so powerful that political organisation could do a little in facing these organised forces.

Major (Retd) Jalil in his statement added that through his experience he strongly believes that the only way of eradicating poverty and inequality was through integration of the people, Armed Forces and the bureaucracy. He further observed that the Bangladeshi nationalism could be the basis for unity and economic emancipation. Referring to the controversy over the holding of either presidential or parliamentary election first he termed this as "contradiction for power". Mr Jalil said this has no relation with the interest of the people. So he cannot be a party to such a contradiction which does not reflect the hopes and aspirations of the people. He added that he was not only severing relation with JSD but also with this 'fruitless political process'.

Major (Retd.) Jalil told a questioner that he finds three ousted governments in the three political alliances. Fifteen party alliance was the alliance of

Awami League. Seven party alliance was that of Bangladesh Nationalist Party and Jatiya Oikyo Front led by Khondakar Moshtaque was the alliance of Khondakar Mostaque Government. He observed that these governments were responsible for destroying democracy in the country.

He further observed that the country was now divided in six camps. Islamic so-called democrats, BAKSAL, communist scientific socialist and the camp of the government. He stressed the need for unity of the nationalist forces. He told a questioner that he would join hands with the Government if it makes any effort to unite the nationalist forces.

Replying to a question how he would maintain a united army in a multi party democracy if participation of Armed Forces is ensured. Major (Retd.) Jalil said that the Bangladesh Army has made contribution to the liberation of the country and so it has the right to participate in the Government.

Asked how he wants to organise the nationalist forces in nation-building activities the JSD leader said "wait and see". He circulated his booklet in English titled Bangladesh nationalist movement for unity a historical necessity". He called upon JSD workers and other political workers to join hands with him in nation-building activities.

Those present at the Press conference include Mr Sultanuddin Ahmed, former Publicity Secretary of JSD, Mr Kabir Ahmed, member of party's national committee, advocate Khalilur Rahman, convener of Legal Aid Committee of the party and Mr Ershaduddin Khan Milki, a leader of party's Kishoreganj unit. A good number of workers waiting at the Press Club compound when he was addressing the Press conference and raised slogans.

Rab 'Comeback'

Dhaka HOLIDAY in English 4 Feb 84 pp 1, 8

[Article by Abdul Hye and Jaglul Alam]

[Text] The infighting in the Jatyo Samajtantric Dal (JSD) took a very acute shape yesterday with the exit of the party president Major (retd.) M.A. Jalil and the renewed attempts by general secretary A.S.M. Abdur Rab to seize control of the party.

Rab resigned his post of general secretary last year amidst bitter wranglings within the party leadership over political line. Jalil's powers as president of the party were also greatly curbed by the national executive committee (NEC) of the party.

Rab himself has asserted his position as the general secretary of the JSD in what he said in an interview with HOLIDAY which appears at the end of this story.

It appears that Rab has chosen to make his comeback really sensational by exploiting the present crisis in the party on the issue of upazilla election which has threatened the party with a split.

He has emphatically said that the JSD is under constitutional obligation to take part in all democratic elections in the country, including upazilla elections, while a group, led by joint general secretary Shahjahan Siraj has vowed steadfastly to support the stand of the Five-point Movement of the 15-Party Alliance and the 7-Party combine. The JSD is a component of the former.

The crisis in Jatya Samajtantrik Dal (JSD) has further deepened on the question of participation in the forthcoming upazilla elections. The National Executive Committee (NEC) of the party already stands divided on the issue.

The division surfaced when Shahjahan Siraj, joint general secretary, and Nur-e-Alam Jiku, organising secretary of the party, announced contradictory views--the former opposing participation in upazilla elections and the latter supporting it--at separate press conferences early this week.

Shahjahan Siraj held his press conference on January 31 where he announced that the NEC of the party would meet on February 9 to "determine the stand" of the party on whether or not it would take part in the elections.

Nur-e-Alam Jiku, on the other hand, told a press conference on February 2 that Siraj had no authority, according to the party constitution, to call the NEC meeting. He said only the general secretary and, in special cases, the president could convene such a meeting.

Jiku's press conference, which was originally scheduled to be held at the party head office, was held at the National Press Club because the supporters of Siraj did not allow it to be held at the head office.

Siraj reaffirmed JSD's strong solidarity with the Five-point Programme of the 15-party alliance and the seven-party combine and reiterated the "decision of JSD" to boycott upazilla elections.

He said some influential members of the party were trying to wreck the Five-point Movement.

Jiku, on the other hand, expressed his solidarity with the Five-point Programme, but differed on the question of elections. He said the party constitution demanded participation in all democratic elections. Naturally, nobody could boycott the upazilla elections until and unless the NEC took a decision on the question.

Circulars

The organising secretary has already sent three separate circulars to district committees asking them to actively participate in the upazilla elections.

The organising secretary's circulars have been sharply criticised by the anti-election group which says that the last NEC meeting did not take any decision on participation in elections. They have accused the organising secretary of violating the party constitution by circulating a decision on a major issue.

A.S.M. Abdur Rab, general secretary, who resigned his post last year, is leading the pro-election group with the active support of Chira Guha, vice president, Nur-e-Alam Jiku, organising secretary, Mazharul Haq Tulu, treasurer, Humayun Kabir Hiru, office secretary, Mosharraf Hossain, publicity secretary, Mesbahuddin Ahmed, social and cultural secretary, A.B.M. Shahjahan, public relations secretary, and Khandokar A. Baten, Latifmirza, and Dr Azhar Ali, member NEC.

The anti-election group, led by Shahjahan Siraj, enjoys the support of Ruhul Amin Bhuiyan and Mirza Sultan Raza, vice presidents, and Hasanul Haq Inu, Sharif Nurul Ambia and Begum Raushan Jahan Shafhi, members of NEC.

Sirajul Alam Khan, a member of NEC, has resigned while Dr Anwar Hussain and Maj (retd.) Ziauddin, members of NEC, have not been taking active part in party activities for a long time.

Major (red.) M.A. Jalil, president of JSD, formally resigned from the party yesterday and announced formation of a new political platform, styled as Bangladesh Nationalist Movement for Unity.

Meanwhile, A.S.M. Abdur Rab told HOLIDAY yesterday that the party's 18-point programme called for self-administered organisations at all levels. As long as the 18-point programme of JSD existed, the question of boycotting the Upazilla elections could not arise.

Rab said he had already sent a letter to all members of the national executive committee, urging them to join the forthcoming upazilla polls.

He denounced Shahjahan Siraj for calling a meeting of the NEC and said he himself would call the NEC meeting next week.

CSO: 4600/1566

KING OF BHUTAN, ERSHAD TALK; AGREEMENTS SIGNED

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 6 Feb 84 pp 1, 12

[Text] King Jigme Singye Wangchuk of Bhutan and President Ershad had an exclusive meeting for about an hour at Bangabhaban on Sunday. The two leaders exchanged views on regional and international issues and discussed matters of bilateral relations.

Later, the two heads of states were joined by their respective aides in formal talks,

A protocol on trade and an agreement on technical and economic cooperation were signed after the talks. Commerce and Industries Minister Mr S.M. Shafiul Azam signed the trade protocol and Foreign Minister Mr A.R. Shams-ud Doha signed the agreement on technical and economic cooperation. Bhutanese Foreign Minister Mr Lyonpo Daws Tsering signed the two agreements on behalf of the Royal Government. King Jigme Singye Wangchuk and President Ershad were present at the signing ceremony.

A foreign office spokesman told newsmen that the formal talks were held in an atmosphere of deep friendship, utmost cordiality and complete understanding. The talks, the spokesman added, covered wide ranging subjects including entire gamut of bilateral relations and regional and global issues of common concern. The South Asian regional cooperation figured prominently in the talks.

King Jigme Singye Wangchuk was assisted by Foreign Minister Mr Lyonpo Daws Tsering, Minister for Communication and Tourism Mr Lyonpo Singye Penjor, Chief Justice Dasho Palijor Dorji, Royal Bhutanese Ambassador in Bangladesh Dasho Dago Tsering and other senior members of the royal entourage.

President Ershad was assisted in the talks by Deputy Chief Martial Law Administrator [words indistinct] Commerce and Industries Minister Mr S.M. Shafiul Azam, Foreign Minister Mr A.R. Shams-ud Doha, Establishment Minister Major General Mahabbat Jan Chowdhury, Major General Atiqur Rahman, PSO to CMLA, Foreign Secretary Mr A.H.S. Ataul Karim, Secretary of External Resources Division Mr Mofizur Raymail, Secretary, Shipping Mr A.K.M. Kamaluddin Chowdhury, Secretary, Railway Division Mr A.M. Chowdhury, Law Secretary Mr A.O. Chowdhury, and Bangladesh Ambassador to Bhutan Mr Mahbubul Alam.

The two agreements signed between the two countries provide for the institutional frame work for continued expansion of trade relations and economic and technical cooperation leading to further consolidation of bilateral relations.

PAPERS DISCUSS ISSUES IN RIVERS TALKS

Positions on Farakka

Dhaka THE NEW NATION in English 30 Jan 84 pp 1,8

[Article by Matiur Rahman]

[Text] With barely two months left for the expiry of the memorandum of understanding on sharing the Ganges waters, Bangladesh and India are expected to hold their ministerial level talks sometime next month in Delhi on this ticklish issue.

Apparently with no solution in sight, the two ministers--Agriculture Minister Obaidullah Khan and Indian Irrigation Minister Ram Niwas Mridha will hold their fourth and probably last round of talks in a bid to thrash out 'a solution' to the long-standing issue since the memorandum of understanding was signed during the Ershad-Indira summit in 1982.

Though officially no date has yet been fixed, the ministerial level talks under the purview of the Indo-Bangladesh Joint Rivers commission (JRC) may be held in mid February in the Indian capital after six months of the Dhaka meeting in July last.

Despite urgency and immediacy of the situation, the JRC held a series of talks and meetings at different levels in vain to carry out even the pre-feasibility studies on the proposals of the two countries on augmenting the Ganges flow for sharing by the two neighbours. The JRC was assigned by the Ershad-Indira summit in October 1982 to find out ways for resolving the Ganges water sharing issue within the stipulated time frame of 18 months.

According to a knowledgeable circle, the forthcoming Delhi meeting may refer back the issue to the higher political level to decide future course of action in this regard if it fails to produce any positive outcome. Mr Obaidullah Khan who earlier was 'too much optimistic' of a solution at the beginning of his dialogue is likely to approach afresh the Indian leadership for a possible solution.

The two countries failed so far in producing any tangible outcome to resolve the Farakka issue because of intransigent attitude of India by not agreeing to the Bangladesh proposal for carrying out a per-feasibility study of

construction of storage dams in Nepal though she had earlier agreed when the memorandum of understanding was signed.

The JRC talks were bogged down last year, when India was insisting on carrying out pre-feasibility study only on her own proposal of digging a link canal across Bangladesh for diverting the Brahmaputra waters for augmentation of the Ganges flow for sharing between India and Bangladesh.

Though the impasse was created mainly on 'technical grounds' as officials described, the Farakka issue was bypassed in most of the meetings by allowing issues like sharing of waters of other common rivers like Teesta, Muhuri, Kushiara, Dharla etc.

According to available indications, this time too the ministerial level talks in Delhi will also take up the issue of sharing the Teesta waters besides other common rivers along with the Farakka issue.

The two ministers had earlier formulated the policy of sharing the Teesta waters but the basic questions like where, how and from when the two countries should share the waters were not yet decided by the two sides.

The secretary-level talks were also held on the issue and meanwhile, the 90-day mandate for sharing the Teesta waters already expired.

It is now expected that the secretary-level meeting will precede the ministerial level talks in Delhi for preparing the grounds on sharing the Teesta waters.

Meanwhile, India is going ahead with the completion of the Teesta barrage which is expected to be commissioned sometime next year.

Proposal on Brahmaputra

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 1 Feb 84 p 1

[Article by Reazuddin Ahmed]

[Text] Bangladesh has made an alternative proposal to India for the construction of a barrage on the river Brahmaputra at Bahadurabad at a cost of Taka 9,000 crores to connect a number of smaller rivers for augmenting the flow of Bangladesh part of the Ganges.

The new proposal has emerged in view of the persistent refusal of India in the Joint River Commission to make pre-feasibility study of building storage dams in Nepal.

Bangladesh has on the other hand rejected the idea of link canal considering the political economic and human factors.

The current agreement on sharing of the Ganges water expires in April next. Bangladesh has also proposed for an arrangement for permanent sharing of the

Ganges water till the feasibility study for the third alternative is completed.

The Canadian Government has agreed to finance the feasibility study of the Brahmaputra barrage at Bahadurabad provided there is a consensus between Bangladesh and India on this proposal.

India is yet to respond to the new proposal. India is expected to come out with their opinion on the proposal during the forthcoming Ministerial level meeting of the Joint River Commission (JRC) to be held between February 10 and 15 in New Delhi.

Although it was agreed in the memorandum of understanding signed at the summit between President Lt. General H.M. Ershad and Prime Minister Indira Gandhi in October, 1982 to study simultaneously the feasibility of building storage dams in Nepal and pre-feasibility study of the link canal. India later disagreed to make the Farakka issue trilateral. India, bilaterally made a number of arrangements with Nepal to construct joint irrigation projects.

The mandatory time-limit to prepare the feasibility in 18 months is now a remote possibility.

India is withdrawing huge quantum of Ganges water at the upper reaches to irrigate Uttar Pradesh and Bihar. The quantum of water available at Farakka point is likely to drop in the coming years in view of the increased diversion by the upper riparian.

While Bangladesh will continue to pursue her inalienable rights to get the share of Ganges water as lower riparian bilaterally, it is expected that the construction of Brahmaputra barrage will solve the problem of augmenting the flow of the Ganges. Bangladesh will have to mobilise the huge amount of Tk. 9,000 crore through consortium of donors just in line with the mobilisation of funds for Indus Basin.

If the Brahmaputra barrage project is implemented it will generate power, improve communication including rail link, and will help flood control in the northern region of Bangladesh.

Meanwhile, the experts feel that Bangladesh should take up with India a proposal for permanent agreement on sharing of the Ganges water since the move to augment the flow of the river agreed at the high level failed. The 80 per cent guarantee clause deleted should be included in future agreement, they opined.

CSO: 4600/1562

BRIEFS

AMBASSADOR TO GDR--The Government has decided to appoint Mr Mufleh Rahman Osmany, at present Principal in the Foreign Affairs Training Institute, as Ambassador of Bangladesh to the German Democratic Republic, reports BSS. Born on February 6, 1940 Mr Osmany joined the Civil Service of Pakistan in 1964. After serving in many important posts in the Government, he was appointed as Director in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1971 and continued in that post till 1975. He then served as Counsellor in Bangladesh High Commission in London till 1978. On his return to Bangladesh he was Director General, Minister of Foreign Affairs till 1982. In 1982-83, he was Chairman of Bangladesh Petroleum Corporation and Joint Secretary in the Petroleum Division. He has been the Principal, Foreign Affairs Training Institute, since 1983. [Text] [Dhaka THE BANGLADESH TIMES in English 3 Feb 84 p 8]

TUNISIAN AMBASSADOR'S CREDENTIALS--The new Tunisian Envoy to Bangladesh Mr Jameleddine Gordah presented his credentials to the President Lt Gen H.M. Ershad at Bangabhaban on Tuesday morning, reports BSS. Presenting his credentials, the envoy said that the existing relations between his country and Bangladesh were bound by ties of common religion. Mutual understanding and cordiality and added that he would endeavour his best to promote the relations further during the period of his tenure. The President reciprocated the sentiments expressed by the envoy and said that Bangladesh and Tunisia shared religious, historical and traditional heritage which serve as immutable ties to bind the peoples of the two brotherly countries. He hoped that the scope and contents of the bilateral relations between Bangladesh and Tunisia would further be expanded in the coming years. He wished the President of the Republic of Tunisia good health and happiness and the brotherly people of Tunisia continued peace and prosperity. [Text] [Dhaka THE NEW NATION in English 3 Feb 84 p 3]

AMBASSADOR TO IRAN--The new Bangladesh Ambassador to Tehran, Mohammad Sakhawatul-Bari, presented a copy of his credentials on Saturday to the Iranian Foreign Minister, Dr Ali Akbar Velayati report, BSS. Speaking on the occasion the ambassador called for further expansion of mutual ties. Dr Velayati also expressed Iran's interest in furthering relations between the two Muslim countries. [Text] [Dhaka THE NEW NATION in English 30 Jan 84 p 3]

NEW POLITICAL PARTY--A new political party was floated on Sunday adding one more to a large number of political parties already existing in the country. Bangladesh United Nationalist Party was born on Sunday with Mr Humayun Khan Panni as President and Mr Abdur Rahim as the Secretary General of the organisation. The six basic principles of the party are Bangladesh nationalism, sovereignty of Bangladesh Islamic values and ideals, democracy, own language and culture and national solidarity. The party will take active part in the coming upazila, presidential and parliamentary elections. The newly formed party has also decided to work hand in hand with 18-point implementation committee. The party believes in peaceful transfer of power. [Text]
[Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 6 Feb 84 p 1]

CSO: 4600/1569

CONTINUATION OF WAR ATTRIBUTED TO INSISTENCE OF 'A LUNATIC'

Paris NEHZAT in Persian 23 Feb 84 pp 1-3

[Paris NEHZAT in Persian; bimonthly organ of the Iran National Resistance Movement]

[Text] The blind, relentless slaughter of the young people and the destruction of the cities and villages in the war between Iran and Iraq takes a new turn once again and its prospects for the future remain in absolute darkness. The propaganda organization or the regime of the religious jurists has employed its horns and bugles in the past months in order to gather the youth and young people through the same old, decayed methods in order to either bring the Islamic army to Jerusalem by way of Karbala or send them to paradise.

According to the SUNDAY TIMES, published in London (5 February):

"The Islamic government of Iran at the threshold of its new attack on Iraq has recently imported from Taiwan tens of thousands of 'keys to paradise' to be distributed among the soldiers to be sent to the front. . . . These plastic keys, with which they may enter paradise, will be distributed among the soldiers in the name of Ayatollah Khomeyni. . . . In an effort to excite the soldiers, the Islamic government dresses some of them in shrouds and they wrap a green cloth around their foreheads."

Of course, for the propaganda to mobilize the young men and youth for the recent attack, necessary ploys were prepared beforehand. For example, Khomeyni's radio reported during these days:

"Today (4 February), the families of a group of those killed in the war visited Ayatollah Khomeyni. In this visit, the head of the 'Martyr Foundation' said: 'We insist that the government respond decisively to Iraq this time . . .'. And Ayatollah Khomeyni thanked them for expressing their emotions to him."

On the same day, in the Majlis as well, similar demands were made. Then, according to one of the news agencies, the regime of the clergymen increased its strong propaganda attack against Iraq. For example, 'Ali Akbar Rafsanjani stated: Except for the cities of Najaf, Karbala, Kazemayn and Sammara, they will not be safe from our vengeful attacks.

Along this line of propaganda, such personages as the speakers and authorities of the army and the Guards Corps also made speeches concerning the mobilization of the "20-million army" and asked for the help of all the institutions. But, finally, all these speeches and plays did not work. Meanwhile, one of the news agencies reported from the Iranian refugees to Turkey:

"Hundreds of thousands of Iranian refugees who have escaped from Iran under the regime of Khomeyni live in Turkey. The Iranian refugees in Istanbul estimate that close to half a million Iranians live in Turkey (and this escape continues) . . . The Iranian refugees, who consist mostly of young men between the ages of 20-30 years, say that each have paid \$4,000 to \$5,000 to guides for this escape . . . According to the refugees, the period for military service has increased from 24 to 36 months and those who have not reached the age for military service are allowed neither to work nor to continue their educations."

It has been seen that the same patriotic young people who made so many sacrifices and engaged in heroic acts during the aggression of Iraq on Iran no longer recognize a cause in the attainment of the wishes of the chained madman and they resort to any means to escape from their homeland.

In any case, last week, the fifth val-Fajr attack was prepared after the preliminaries mentioned and as was expected, news agencies reported some shocking figures on the vast slaughter of both sides, slaughter in a blind war devoid of any human or legal content, bloodshed and destruction which is nothing but aggression, according to all international legal standards, both when the Iraqis attacked Iran and now that the Iranian army has gone beyond the Iraqi borders. And of course, Mr Khomeyni, by speaking of the goal of "liberating Jerusalem" and suppressing "global oppression," has comfortably cut himself out of all international covenants and institutions, which is to say, he does not accept any of them, and most obstinately intends to export his Islamic revolution to all the countries throughout the world and to uproot the foundations of all legal standards not in conformity with religious laws! It is a false dream which will result in much bloodshed and will never be achieved.

According to the news agency recently reporting from the Iranian refugees in Turkey:

Under the present circumstances, five million Iranians are unemployed and the shortages of food and other necessities is intolerable. The monopolizing war imposed by the Khomeyni regime, which is a cover for the internal conflicts in the unstable regime of Khomeyni and which has reached a dead end from every direction, depends on the two factors of wars outside the borders and the suppression of the internal opponents.

The regime's economy is retained only by the oil and Khomeyni has been able to maintain it stage by stage through the sale and auctioning of the Iranian oil.

Undoubtedly, this report and assessment are acceptable. In this regard, we are not addressing those who sell arms, the dealers in death and the plunderers of the oil reserves of the Third World. The goals of the dealers can be summarized in one word: "Profit." The nations of the world know their position clearly in all respects regarding this group. We, in fact, are addressing those who support human rights through sitting in their seats in the international organizations; those who condemn torture and execution in support of the rights of political prisoners; those who support the agreements of the International Red Cross and observe the treatment of war prisoners and who, through telegrams addressed to 148 countries, ask for the help of those governments in regards to the mistreatment of war prisoners; and finally, we are addressing all powerful and not powerful countries of the world: If they know that this war is inhumane, that this war threatens the world peace, that this war has caused so much destruction and has been so detrimental to the lives of the young people, and they know how unjust and devoid of any ethical or legal logic it is, why do they not use all their resources for a complete economic embargo against the regime of the clergymen? The world knows that as long as Khomeyni is in power, he will never deviate from his insane, expansionist views. He will spread instability to the whole world. His tactics have been influential everywhere, even in the Soviet Union. Then, why, by their implicit advocacy of the sale of oil in the world markets, do they provide him with the resources to purchase arms and close their eyes to the transactions between the regime of the clergymen and the sellers of arms?

The Iranian nation knows that it has the grave duty and unavoidable historical responsibility before it to overthrow the Khomeyni regime and it is the Iranian people who must ultimately end the government of the clergy through a collective uprising. But, even if the Iranian nation does not expect them to provide any help in overthrowing Khomeyni, this nation has the right to make the request of those who claim to support human rights and those governments which express anxiety in regards to the situation of the region vis-a-vis their interests that they at least stop supporting him economically.

Our people will record these dark and bloody days forever in their historical memory and will never forget the assistance of the small and large countries to the Khomeyni regime at this historical passage.

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CSO: 4640/146

PAGARA'S SUPPORT FOR REGIME BRINGS MRD CRISIS

Karachi JANG in Urdu 23 Jan 84 p 6

[Article by Mukhtar Aqil: "About Pagara"]

[Excerpt] The leader of the defunct Muslim League, Mr. [Name], is the only politician in the country who has openly acknowledged that he is an ally of the present regime. He made this statement at the house of Mr. Qutubuddin, the chief organizer of his party, in the presence of many people. He also revealed about the president and the secretary of the so-called Khairuddin group of the Muslim League, Mr. Khairuddin and Mr. Mohammad Malik Qasim, that they are also allies of the present government. When asked about the unity of the Muslim League, Mr. Pagara replied: "Is there a need for one government ally to seek alliance with another government ally?" A party member asked him why he slowed his car in front of the residence of Nawabzada Nasrullah Khan (who is under house arrest) in Muzaffar Garh while returning from Punjab. He replied that he had hoped to get a glimpse of the Nawabzada through the window. But alas, he went on, a guard came running toward him and he had to drive on.

Mr. Pagara is an honest and straightforward man. In 1979 he said that general elections would be held in 1982. When 1982 came and went and nothing happened, he extended the date to 1992. Now he said before the party session that a period of 5 years can be cut from this projected date for the elections, barring other factors, the elections are likely to be held in 1987. The students and workers are upset about these predictions. We have been fueling the movement for the restoration of democracy with our blood and sweat and Mr. Pagara is letting the present regime buy itself more time through his predictions. In all this hue and cry there is a school of thought that does not seem to believe in democracy. Institutions that are oligarchic and feudal are antithetical to the concept of democracy. However, no matter what people may think or what philosophy they may profess, their inner core and modus operandi is the same. Everybody, no matter of what school of thought, needs the government because that is the source of all permits, contracts and interest-written loans. This group sees the statement issued by Ghulam Mustafa Khan in the same light. The statement said that Mr. Jatoi is peace-loving and expects the same of the government. It is indicated that Mr. Kausar Niazi has played a major role in bringing around Mr. Jatoi. Mr. Jatoi's statement has given Miss Bhutto moral support. In the past Mr. Niazi visited Karachi

secretly twice. It is indicated that the purpose of Mr Niazi's visit was to educate Mr Jatoi. How far this is true can only be confirmed by the parties concerned. After Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi, the person who has pledged to carry the banner of MRD steadfastly is the secretary of information of the defunct NDP [National Democratic Party], Mr Zuberi. Mr Zuberi was thrust into the limelight by writing a letter to the secretary general of MRD, Mr Malik Mohammad Qasim, from Hyderabad Central Jail. But the letter was published before it even had a chance to reach the addressee. Unfortunately, it was printed out of context.

These days, Mr Zuberi is under treatment in Liaquat Medical College Jamshoro for swelling in the feet and high blood pressure. He gave an interview to an English newspaper in which he criticized the leadership under which the civil disobedience movement was launched on 14 August 1983 and which resulted in his arrest. Now, after 5 months, he is realizing his mistake. In vain, he regrets that he created bad blood between himself and the government. It resulted in his getting in trouble. Traditionally, party workers get arrested first and the leaders make political statements and make an effort for the release of the workers. But MRD managed to get all of its leaders arrested while the workers went scot free. During the interview with the English newspaper Mr Zuberi stated that the leader of the defunct NDP, Haji Ghulam Ahmad Billore, has only a sixth-grade education, and consequently he cannot work under him. This is the very Mr Billore the arrangements of whose press conferences Mr Zuberi used to make at his residence before the civil disobedience movement.

Now Mr Zuberi, as borne out in the interview with the English newspaper, is planning to leave national politics. He is the second person after Jatoi who has indicated that he can no longer go along with the opposition parties and would like to reestablish his relations with the government. True, say the people in political circles, the time-servers cannot really stay away from the government. If you really want to know, the true opposition group are the helpless masses; not MRD. And if MRD surrendered, that was simply a charade. It was never an opposition group in the true sense. Not everybody has the courage of Pir Pagara to come out openly and say: I don't belong to the opposition, I am an ally of the government.

It has been reported that the five prominent leaders of the nine-party alliance approached Maulana Shah Ahmad Noorani long before the MRD movement began. He entertained them generously in his house but turned down their request for him to join MRD. The secret resolutions of MRD meetings reach the government within the hour, he said. First put a stop on these leaks, he added, then I will be glad to jump on the bandwagon. But MRD did not succeed in meeting his request.

9859

CSO: 4656/80

PLEA TO REPATRIATE REFUGEES STRONGLY SUPPORTED

Lahore VIEWPOINT in English 16 Feb 84 pp 11, 32

[Article by Ayaz Amir: "How the Air Chief Marshal Stole the Show"]

[Text] Before I say anything about the proceedings of the seminar on South Asian cooperation arranged by Islamabad's independent English daily, The Muslim, I must confess to a deep-rooted prejudice. Whatever the sophistication of the organisers, I can never take kindly to anything which enjoys official sponsorship. When the delegates to any function are kept in the Government hostel and the Frontier House, are entertained by the Information Minister while their cause is taken up generously by the official media, no one is going to convince me about its 'uniquely independent' character. In this day and age you don't get free lunches for nothing.

Participants

A word, too, about the participants. For one there were too many retired Colonel Blimps around. Gen. Akram of the Institute of Regional Studies and Brig. Noor Husain of the Institute of Strategic Studies (both of whom deserve an extended stay in some academic purgatory) were much too loud about their presence. For another, the Foreign Office was there in strength with Mr. Agha Shahi almost behaving as if he still had an official brief to defend. It was all very cleverly done, I agree (left to their own devices the Regional Studies Institute or the Information Ministry would have botched it completely), but the facade of independence was not as strong as it seemed.

The Indians saved the proceedings from sinking into darkness. Coming from an open society where you can say what you want, their approach was naturally more open and their intellectual horizons not so clouded as ours. I do not know how high Mr. J.D. Sethi ranks in India, as an economist or a Gandhian, but I think very few Pakistanis in the world (formally constituted, that is) could have matched his candour or even his learning. But again, it must be said that it was not a very representative Indian crowd. At the risk of some over-simplification one can say that people like Pran Bhatia, Pran Chopra, Kuldip Nayyar, Uma Vasudeva, etc., are birds of a feather. They are all anti-Indira (with Mr. Nayyar it is almost an obsession) and, I suspect, strongly pro-USA, two parallel tracks which define and rather limit their views.

Not for Anything

You might in that case ask what the purpose of the whole exercise was, but I'll leave this question for wiser heads than mine to tackle because, the caveats notwithstanding, I wouldn't have missed the seminar for anything in the world if only to see how Air Chief Marshal (Retd.) Zulfiqar Ali Khan managed to steal the show. For two days he sat impassively, listening to all the speeches and the interventions without opening his mouth once. His turn to speak came towards the evening of the second day when visible boredom had settled on the audience. Since the military scholars who had come before him (Gen. Akram and Brig. Noor Husain) had adequately defined the level of their contribution, there were few people in the hall who were expecting any fireworks from the Air Marshal.

Invented Enemies

He opened his talk with a pertinent point which touched the entire discussion about India-Pakistan relations. Defence establishments, he said, needed a visible enemy to justify their existence and if, suppose, that enemy was not there, they usually tended to invent one.

Turning to Afghanistan, he said that an effective policy could not be formulated so long as we were not clear about the motives of the Soviet intervention. Russia, he said, was a country which had been invaded five times in the last hundred and fifty years: by Napoleon in 1812, by Britain in 1856, by Germany in 1914, by Britain and France in 1917, and by Germany in 1941, when 20 million Russians lost their lives. Fed on Western histories of the Second World War, we tended to believe that the British and the Americans defeated the Germans but the battles in North Africa, Italy and France were in the nature of peripheral struggles, with the Germans suffering 80 per cent of their casualties on the Russian Front. Hence this was a country which was more sensitive than others about questions affecting its security.

Dismissing the usual Western theories regarding USSR's expansionist behaviour (warm water ports, etc.) Air Chief Marshal Zulfiqar Ali Khan said that the same fears about its security lay behind the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan. Sardar Daud's attempts during the last years of his rule to forge close economic links with the Shah of Iran, and military links with Anwar Sadat's Egypt, could have fuelled Soviet fears that if this trend was not reversed a regime with a strong pro-American tilt might arise in the heart of Central Asia. Consequently, they moved to pre-empt such a possibility.

Talking of Soviet losses in Afghanistan, he said that militarily they had followed a very sensible policy. Unlike the French who in the Algerian war of independence had fielded 300,000 soldiers 2,000 miles away from home, or the Americans who placed half a million soldiers in Vietnam at a distance of 7,000 miles from the American mainland, the Soviets, despite all the advantages of geography, had sent in only 80,000 troops. Secure in the knowledge that time was on their side, they were content to hold the high ground, the cities and communication lines and were quite able to sustain

the costs of the intervention at its present level indefinitely but the question was could Pakistan bear the burden of the refugees for so long? The problem was assuming such grave proportions that it left Pakistan with no choice except to seek a modus vivendi with the Soviet Union.

South Asian Initiative

The question-answer session took off from this high note. Mr. Aslam Khattak (now of the Majlis-i-Shoora) suggested that to get around the Soviet insistence that we should talk directly to the Karmal regime, India's help should be enlisted, as part of a joint South Asian initiative, to make an approach to Moscow. To which the Air Marshal replied that he doubted greatly whether India would be prepared to rescue Pakistan from the predicament into which it had blundered.

At this point, when matters had reached a fairly high pitch, my friend Raja Ehsan Aziz of the Quaid-i-Azam University was cheered by a section of the audience when he accused the Air Marshal of a selective bias who, he said, had mentioned all the parties to the conflict except the most important one, the people of Afghanistan who were resisting Soviet aggression. Speaking slowly, the Air Marshal said that he had full admiration for those Afghans who were fighting the Soviets but the fact remained that three million of them had crossed over into Pakistan. In the Algerian war of independence, the Algerians were fighting alone against the French but did a single Algerian take refuge in any other country? The Americans threw more bombs over Vietnam than the total weight of bombs thrown by all the sides throughout the Second World War, but in spite of the massive destruction, which resembled a science fiction horror, did a single North Vietnamese flee his country and seek refuge anywhere else? And with that the Air Marshal brought the house down, leaving me with a better opinion of air marshals than I had ever entertained before.

CSO: 4600/430

PAPER ASSESSES COMPLICATIONS OF INDIAN-PAKISTANI RELATIONS

Lahore NAWA-I-WAQT in Urdu 18 Feb 84 p 10

[Article: "Unsolved Conflicts"]

[Excerpts] There are many controversial and antagonistic elements in Indian-Pakistani relations that have become a part of the social, moral and political chemistry of the two countries. Moreover, the internal and external trouble-makers are very active, too, and they do their level best to complicate matters as much as they can. That is why whenever South Asian cooperation is discussed it ends in a discussion of the Indian-Pakistani conflict, and the conflict is left to be solved through communal riots. Our aim is to find some way of cooperation, even if problems are not solved. Problems can be solved even without cooperation. The problem of the Indus basin was solved in this way and so were the problems of the prisoners of war and of the reclamation of each other's land occupied during war. These and many other problems have been solved through bilateral talks. That is the only way to solve problems. All countries have meetings and discussions and solve their problems on bilateral bases. India and Pakistan, too, can do so despite their deplorable conflicts. We need not wait until all conflicts have been settled before we start cooperation. We can solve problems by cooperation or we can say that sooner or later we can prepare the ground for the solution of problems if we make up our minds to have cooperation between the two countries. This point has always been ignored in Indian-Pakistani relations.

This is what happens: whenever there is a discussion about regional cooperation between India and Pakistan, the people at the table start talking about the history, personalities, psychology, beliefs, customs, etc. of the two countries. Each side tries to prove the innocence of its own country and the villainy of the other. Both parties show very good memories when it comes to recounting the crimes of the other, and they have so many secrets to reveal against each other that there is no time left to talk about the purpose for which they met. All their eloquence is used to prove whether India or Pakistan is the better of the two--which has more political insight, whose celebrities are more worthy of respect, whose philosophy of life is loftier, whose political system is more progressive and cultured, whose future is brighter and clearer, etc. They praise themselves and blame the other and feel happy and angry in turn. They waste time and leave the negotiating table without achieving anything. Things remain exactly where they were 37 years ago.

Last year I visited New Delhi to attend the nonaligned conference. There I met many people who wanted to have good relations with Pakistan. A taxi driver even asked me, "When will this madness between India and Pakistan end?" I do not know what he meant by madness--the partition of India or our quarrels since the partition. I felt ashamed, as if I were responsible for this madness. To some extent I am responsible, because I belong to that class of well-to-do and well-educated people of the subcontinent who know all about the past and present of our two countries, who know all about the past movements in the two countries and the future toward which we are heading. It is the educated elite that set the trend for thinking and preparing the atmosphere for every one else to think and take practical actions. If we want cooperation it will come, but it cannot become a reality unless the two governments are compelled to cooperate. When the two governments cooperate there will be cooperation despite conflicts, prejudices, ideological differences and conflicts of opinion; the machinery of cooperation will start working right away. As long as this does not happen, common people from both sides will keep quarreling without purpose. Common people know how to quarrel but they do not know how to understand each other.

12476

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EXTENSION OF OFFICIAL PATRONAGE TO ONLY 'RESPONSIBLE' PAPERS SCORED

Lahore NAWA-I-WAQT in Urdu 18 Feb 84 p 10

[Editorial: "Can We Depend on the Judgement of the Sycophants?"]

A news item from Bangladesh says that the military government there has put management of the BANGALADESH OBSERVER (it was the PAKISTAN OBSERVER in united Pakistan) and a film magazine, CHITRALI, into the hands of the private sector. This was done to fulfil the promise of the president, Lt Gen Hussain Mohammad Ershad, who said in 1982 that his government believed in a free and responsible press and that all newspapers and magazines under government control would be put in the hands of the private sector. At the same time, a government directive in Lahore tells us that according to a decision taken at a meeting of the federal cabinet on 4 December, all government offices, divisional and district directrates, government corporations, private companies, educational institutions and libraries have been "advised" to buy only "responsible and balanced" newspapers, though the directive does not specify the newspapers that meet this stipulation. Yet the newspapers and periodicals that have been recommended are all published by the so-called National Press Trust.

An earlier news item told us that at a high-level meeting connected with the newspapers of the National Press Trust (attended by representatives of the mass media and editors and managers of Trust newspapers), a committee was formed consisting of bureaucrats of high rank who at the direction of the president should find ways and means of improving the newspapers of the Trust and of increasing their circulation. To improve the newspapers, it is clear the government will give them monetary help. They will get more loans from the banks, and their quota of government advertisements will be increased. To increase circulation, it is clear from the aforementioned directive that all government institutions will have to buy only newspapers of the Trust.

Now let us read another news item, which is not directly connected with newspapers but helps us to see (with the aid of one who knows) that control of the press in the long run (against their efforts and expectations) harms the rulers themselves. We mean the interview that NAWA-I-WAQT had with Gauhar Ayub, the son of a former president, the late Field Marshall Mohammad Ayub Khan. He said that among the chief causes of his father's downfall were one-party rule, the war of 1965 and government control of the press.

If we read all these news together, one thing becomes clear: only a free press is a "responsible press" and "only free men can decide what is proper." If the readers had found the Trust newspapers responsible, there would have been no need to give them government patronage or compel the government to buy them. Government institutions can be compelled to buy government-sponsored newspapers on wholesale terms, but the desire to read them cannot be imposed from above. The popularity of such newspapers decreases with the increase in the official compulsion. In Punjab, the Daultana ministry tried to boost the circulation of AFAQ, its government-sponsored newspaper, by this method. In the days of Ayub Khan, this method was used to increase the circulation of the National Press Trust papers. During the so-called people's rule, the chairman's paper, MUSAWAT, got the largest share of government advertisements and there was an order for all government institutions to buy it. But as this paper was deprived of public confidence, its circulation fell lower than that of the Trust papers, even during the people's rule.

All this goes to prove that every rule we've had patronized his sycophant newspapers, but this official patronage neither improved their standard nor boosted their circulation. On the other hand, they became unpopular, and their circulation declined. This is because nobody can trust the judgment of slaves. As time passes and the duration of the rule of the present regime lengthens, the people are becoming impatient, because they are not getting any share in the rule of their country. This flood of anger and dissatisfaction cannot be dammed by government-sponsored newspapers and periodicals. The only solution to this problem is to hand over power to the people's representatives. Only a representative government can solve the nation's problems, and only a free press can bring popular support for government policies. This is a fact that can be verified by studying the unsuccessful efforts of the different regimes that have tried to keep the press under their control.

"If you cannot see the facts, you have no vision."

12476

CSO: 4656/99

EARLY RESUMPTION OF TALKS ON AFGHANISTAN STRESSED

Lahore VIEWPOINT in English 23 Feb 84 pp 7, 8

[Article in "Between the Lines" column by Linesman: "Talk About Talks"]

[Text] JUP's Maulana Noorani has added his voice to that of the leaders of almost all recognizable political parties--with the natural exception of the Jamaat-i-Islami--by endorsing the demand that direct negotiations should be held with the Karmal Government in order to break the Pak-Afghan deadlock and reach an early, satisfactory settlement.

There has been a great deal of talk about the talks with Afghanistan. Public criticism of Government's handling of the situation has been articulated in a low key on account of two main reasons. First, the people have been fed on the hopeful pronouncements made by UN and other spokesmen about the substantial progress achieved and rosy prospects for a final agreement. Secondly, there is a customary reluctance to deal harshly with the Government's foreign policy initiatives--or their lack. That this barrier, which is beginning to crumble, is seen in ex-Ambassador Sajjad Hyder's four Press articles and, even more, in ex-Air-Chief Zulfikar Ali's incisive analysis, almost describing Pakistan's approach as a rehash of the British Forward Policy. Already representatives of leading political parties have studiously advocated the need for direct talks, some calling forthrightly for recognition of the Kabul regime, while the others have held that this hurdle could be crossed later and that direct negotiations can and should be held without de jure recognition, so that a sensible agreement can be achieved and peace restored along the sprawling Pak-Afghan border. In addition to the desire for normalization, most people are eager for a settlement that would bring Pakistan the bonus of ending the 36-year dispute over the Durand Line.

Cause for Concern

Thinking people in Pakistan are rightly concerned about the large presence of refugees in camps spread over two provinces, and now spilling over into a third. At the same time, many Afghans travel uninvited to other towns in search of work or business opportunities. Whatever the exact figure, this vast flood constitutes a heavy financial burden on Pakistan's limited resources for which there is clamant demand for projects to serve our own

people, many of whom continue to live in worse penury and without relief. Additionally, the influx of such a large number of armed aliens has caused socio-economic strains. In some areas it is also leading to ecological deterioration which could have long-term consequences for the affected countryside.

To take one small point, people are asking whether the millions of trees that the NWFP Government intend to plant during the Spring Plantation drive will make up for the deforestation that is taking place in many areas. Will not the saplings now planted quickly be eaten up by vagrant cattle and goats or used as fuel to keep the campfires burning? Further, with the virtually unchecked flow of Afghans there is no guarantee that all of them are genuine refugees. Some, of course, see themselves as permanent emigrants--regarding Pakistan either as a transit stage or searching for a permanent abode. Others, with tribal rapacity, take to trade or money-lending. Still others are engaged in another favourite pastime of our northern neighbours--smuggling. And, tragically, this is not confined to foreign electronic gadgets but includes the much more profitable item of narcotics, including heroin. Our guests are also helping to increase the figures of daring crimes. It is, therefore, feared that Pakistan has accepted a burden that it cannot bear for very long without a series of unwelcome consequences. Obviously, plans to deal with the problem should be viewed in terms of weeks and months, not years.

The American Connection

Another matter of deep concern is the American involvement in the Afghan situation. Apart from the supply of arms through various agencies that the United States has taken upon itself for its own reasons, leading US publicists have left little doubt that the American Establishment is re-playing the Great Game and wants to use Pakistan as a pawn. In this context, it needs to be said that no quid pro quo can be sufficient compensation for Pakistan being persuaded to play its allotted role. People remember what Selig Harrison has said and forecast. Now a US journalist whose writings are said to reach 25 million American people has said: "Should the Soviet Union attempt to seize power in the oil-rich Persian Gulf, the United States could prevent it only with the help of Pakistan--our only firm ally in South West Asia..." He also explained and justified the American attitude towards the present Government by saying that "Zia's opposition aims not only at the restoration of democracy but also at deep changes in foreign policy, such as making Pakistan neutral and ending support for the Afghan rebels... The US which cannot afford to lose friends...should make Pakistan a top priority."

Not only publicists but senior US officials speak of their expectations with a fair measure of frankness. The U.S. Under-Secretary of State, pleading before the Congressional Sub-Committee, said that "Pakistan remains key to efforts to prevent the consolidation of Soviet power in Afghanistan, and to bring about the withdrawal of Soviet forces as part of a negotiated political settlement..." He explained that "the Pakistan programme responds to security challenges that must be met to preserve that country's

territorial integrity and to protect U.S. interests in a strategically-vital crossroads of South West and Central Asia."

Revision of Strategy

The concerns arising from US policies, in South Asia and neighbouring Middle East, are wholly valid. Plainly, they can be dispelled in only one way, namely, an early Pak-Afghan settlement. Pakistan must, therefore, revise its strategy and take firm, decisive steps to ensure that the draft Geneva Agreement is finalized and implemented without further delay. Such a move will bring incalculable benefit to Pakistan, Afghanistan, and the whole region. This is a matter of such great importance that the Government and the political parties should be willing to discuss it and arrive at a national consensus that will strengthen Pakistan's position. Such a consensus would enable Government to stand up to foreign pressures and move towards a solution moulded wholly by Pakistan's national interests.

The fact that the situation in and around Afghanistan is worsening demands that the visit of the UN Secretary-General's Representative should be advanced and appropriate measures taken to guarantee that the next round of talks can yield the desired results.

CSO: 4600/430

JI, IJT ALLEGED SUPPORT FOR ZIA REGIME CRITICIZED

Lahore VIEWPOINT in English 23 Feb 84 p 9

[Article by Ayaz Amir: "The Gulling of the Brownshirts"]

[Text] Under the present stretch of military rule, the role of the Jamaat-i-Islami has been dark and infamous which is to put it mildly since mere words cannot do justice to the extent and variety of its performance.

Its key role as the cutting edge of the PNA movement of 1977 is now a matter of history, if not of sinister legend. What it did in the fateful 24 hours which preceded the actual transition on 5 July, 1977, is pretty well known as also the way it eased the conscience of the new dispensation when, after setting aside the first promised elections, it embarked on the course whose good works we are witnessing today. On the way its strong-arm squads helped to spike public protests against the regime.

Role in 1978

When the PPP mounted its abortive protest movement of September 1978, I was a witness to the way the Islami Jamiat-i-Tulaba (IJT) in Rawalpindi succeeded in defusing it. Similarly, when country-wide demonstrations broke out after Mr. Bhutto's execution, the Jamaat and its student wing acted as effective auxiliaries of the security forces. The list of obligations the regime owes the Jamaat is long and impressive. Even if it had done nothing except to split the student community, its debt would have been hard to repay.

Surprise is therefore natural when the regime begins to apply the nut-cracker to the Jamaat's student wing of holy warriors. At first it is true the ban on student unions aroused the suspicion that the Jamaat would be a party to it for it was hard to believe that the regime would hit out at such a close ally. But the list of rusticated students, in which there is a goodly number of IJT activists, confirmed what it should not have taken much prescience in the first place to see that the ban hits the Jamiat the hardest. The other organisations, the PSF, the NSF, the NSO, etc., were at worst a nuisance, the IJT alone was a well-oiled and well-heeled organisation which, like an octopus, spread from its nerve centre in Mansoor to every major educational institution of the country. Its horizontal

organisation gave it the capacity to create country-wide pockets of resistance (or collaboration) at a single command from its centre. Funds, of course, were never a problem.

Why So Drastic?

So the question one can't help asking is why this drastic measure. I have heard people say that wanting to queer the pitch for the 'reforms' it has in mind, and fearing that any possible broadening of its civilian base, through mock elections or otherwise, might invite the displeasure of the Jamaat (whose vision of government remains austere selective), the regime has tried to snuff out the only organisation capable of organised resistance. Although not without its attractions, this point of view rests on very doubtful assumptions. After all the years of slogging it through, have the strongmen of the regime been so violently converted to the cause of democracy that well before the event they feel the need to smash the barricades in the way? An unlikely thought since nothing short of the second coming will bring about such a conversion.

The more plausible explanation, therefore, is that the IJT has reached the end of its utility. Especially after the containment of the MRD movement, the regime feels strong enough to discard it, and to resolve the contradiction whereby an armed host of young and enthusiastic fanatics was being harboured in the bosom of a system whose very nature could grant no rivals or competing organisations wedded to a policy of arms. To recall a distant analogy, Major Roehm and his SA troops (the Brownshirts), too, fell to a night of the long knives after Hitler had tightened his grip on power.

Had It Cared...

Although the IJT will not rank high in the list of preferences of queasy men like myself, the way it is twisting in the wind is not without its poignancy. Had it cared to learn from the experience of its rivals, it would have had some idea of what was coming. The present regime enjoys the distinction of having first used and then discarded many worthy men and institutions. Having clambered to power on the backs of the PNA, it used the PNA till it became a dirty word with a dirty meaning. When Mr. Bhutto's corpse was being flown to Larkana, PNA men were sitting in the Federal Cabinet. Subsequently, Air Marshal Asghar Khan and the rest of the PNA stalwarts were made to look like tools when the second promised elections were postponed in October 1979. The judiciary suffered the same fate. Is it possible to sketch in words the treatment suffered by Justice Anwarul Haq or Maulvi Mushtaq Husain? The list of used and discarded heroes is indeed long and does not end with the gulling of Maulana Noorani when the MRD movement was at its height.

And now slowly but surely the mills of God have got round to the IJT which has taken such good care to isolate itself that if it is rash enough to mount a display of force in the streets of Lahore, the Punjab Police will have a field day cracking its skulls. Some pundits, sharper-eyed than the rest, detect in this latest move the seeds of student activism in the future. But I am not so sure. Mian Tufail Muhammad and the bunch of ideologues running the Jamaat have developed such deep stakes in the status quo that even if they are mortally insulted, they will swallow hard and slog doggedly on.

COMMENTARY ON SIND AFFAIRS

Lahore VIEWPOINT in English 23 Feb 84 p 28

[Article by Kausar Perveen Siddiqui: "Smouldering Resentment"]

[Text] Although the Save Pakistan Movement launched by the MLO has quietened down for want of support from other provinces, there still is a great deal of resentment among the people of Sind. They may have lost the first, but they hope to do better in the second round.

There is very little realisation in other provinces of the objective situation in Sind. When I met a senior professor in my college the other day, she said: "Pray for my death, my child. I don't want to see this sacred land of ours ravaged before my own eyes. In foreign universities in imperialist countries plans are being made for the destruction of Pakistan, but we are oblivious to this. May God grant our custodians wisdom to do that which is required to consolidate national security and well-being".

Sense of Deprivation

The sense of deprivation the Sindhis nurse has only been heightened by recent events. Unemployment has reached unprecedented proportions in the province and its jails are full of detenus.

On December 28 last year, the Senior Vice-President of the Larkana District branch of the People's Students Federation, Mr. Zulfikar Ali Soomro, and four other students were wrongly implicated in a case and arrested. In the local police station Mr. Soomro fell unconscious several times. Then the five were challaned under MLO-77 and Mr. Soomro sent on remand four times. He has been kept in the District Jail, Larkana. Medical treatment is also being denied him. Mr. Soomro has not even been allowed to appear in the B.Com. examination. (He is a student of the Government Commerce College, Larkana.) However, it is reported that the parents of one of the other four students, Hannan Ali, have been able to 'secure' their son's freedom.

The departure abroad of the Acting Chairperson of the Pakistan People's Party, Miss Benazir Bhutto, has caused the hub centre of the party's activities to shift from Larkana to Nawabshah. Miss Bhutto's departure has

dismayed the young followers of the Bhutto family. All senior political leaders are under detention and it remains to be seen what turn events will take when they are ultimately released. In the rest of the province, the Jatoi Group dominates the Sind PPP.

Biggest in Sind

The Sind People's Students Federation was controlled by Benazir Bhutto. The biggest student body in the province, the SPSF is currently being led by Ghazi Salahuddin and Mr. Mohammad Ayaz Soomro, the latter wields great influence in the province and is the Central Secretary of the Federation. However, Ayaz Soomro's detention in the Macch Jail together with 14 other prominent leaders of Sind since September 26, 1983, and Miss Bhutto's departure abroad has caused a great deal of despondency in the SPSF rank and file.

Soomro, who was doing his Master's in English, is the youngest of the 15 Sindhi leaders who are now in Baluchistan's Macch Jail.

It is necessary to recall here that elections were not held in students unions in Sind because in most educational institutions, the SPSF enjoyed support. Only two years ago, elections were held in the Chandka Medical College, Larkana. The SPSF swept the polls. (Now, of course, students unions have been banned throughout the province.)

When Mr. Abdul Ghafoor Bhurgari, the prominent Larkana lawyer who is a former Deputy Secretary-General of the PPP, returned home after representing Pakistan at the United Nations, he was received warmly at the Moenjo Daro Airport. Among those who had gone there to receive him were some prominent leaders and workers of the Larkana PPP.

A member of the Federal Shooru, Mr. Bhurgari now, he goes about saying in his private parties that he will return to the party if the PPP High Command forgives him.

Some political detenus have recently been released in Sind. Even so, a large number of MRD workers still remain in prison.

Macch Jail

The Macch Prison was set up by the British in 1929 and is among the worst in the country. Leaders now in Macch include Makhdum Khaliqzaman, Mr. Mohammad Ayaz Soomro (Central Secretary-General of the Sind People's Students Federation), Mr. Ghulam Mujtaba Jatoi, Mr. Ghulamullah Mahuto, Mr. Ahmed Nawaz Awan, Mr. Zafar Leghari, Pir Mazhar, Mr. Sattar Bachani, Mr. Manzur Wasan, Dr. Ibrahim Jatoi, Mr. Fazal Rahu, Agha Saifuddin and Mr. Mushtaq Bhutto. The detention period of all these has been extended by another three months by the Deputy Martial Law Administrators of Sukkur and Hyderabad. All of them have been kept in separate cells and since they are not allowed shaving kit, all of them have grown beards.

It may be recalled that these Sindhi leaders are the only political detenus who have been kept in prison outside their own province.

LETTER WRITER ASSERTS CHANGE IN SOCIOECONOMIC SYSTEM INEVITABLE

Lahore VIEWPOINT in English 1 Mar 84 pp 3, 4

[Letter by Anis Hashmi in "Letters" column: "Can We Keep the System and Prosper?"]

[Text] Can we or, for that matter, the whole Third World build our economies and, at the same time, retain the old socio-economic structure inherited from our old imperialist masters?

Can we, or for that matter any Muslim country, retain our unity in the name of Islam?

Before passing judgment, let us examine briefly our achievements of the last 36 years. In the field of economic reconstruction, our performance has been poor. For instance, our per capita income is among the lowest in the world. According to the World Bank Report, 50 per cent of our population lives on the poverty line. The employment situation is also unsatisfactory. The export of a 3.5 million-strong labour force abroad (1.9 million through Government agencies and 1.6 million through the 'launch service') is a sad commentary on our ability to provide employment to our people at home. Textiles are our biggest industry in the private sector with an installed capacity of about 3.8 million spindles and it is in bad shape.

In the field of agriculture, there are one million families with no land holdings. There are 2.7 million families with fragmented holdings. There are 2.2 million families of 'muzaras' or 'haris', working on the farms of big landlords who own almost 50 per cent of the entire land under cultivation. These 2.7 million families own almost 30 per cent of the total land under cultivation but their farms cannot achieve optimum production because of fragmentation and poor economic resources of the owners. The credit facilities provided by the Government cannot be utilised by these land-owners because of their uneconomic holdings, unless converted into economic units, cannot produce the desired results and therefore even the credit schemes cannot bring any good to these poverty-stricken families. We have had good weather in the last six years--no floods or drought. Now if the cycle is reversed--and there are indications that we may be having adverse conditions during the next few years--all our claims about self-sufficiency may prove short-lived. With a total of six million families in the rural

areas of our country in the category of have-nots, how do we expect to industrialise the country and create an internal market? The international market is shrinking as a result of the protectionist policies being pursued by the nations of the rich North. In view of the deliberate attempts by the North to force us to reduce the prices of our raw materials and of semi-finished goods, only the magic lamp of Aladin can solve the perennial problem of balance of trade deficits and enable backward countries to build their own industries to attain the goal of self-sufficiency, at least in consumer goods. Besides, how can the problem of technological backwardness be solved when the advanced nations of the North (who have fleeced us for 200 years and our present backwardness is due to their ruthless exploitation) are not ready to transfer technological know-how to us?

Let us now take the problem of education. According to the Federal Education Minister, the rate of literacy is 23 per cent in our country. Eight per cent of the population has received primary education. Another 2.8 per cent has completed secondary education and only 0.3 per cent are graduates while the number of people with post-graduate qualifications constitutes 0.06 per cent of the population.

In brief, our performance in the field of industry, agriculture, and education is simply deplorable. In medical facilities, the position is the worst of all. One hundred thousand people die every year on account of only one disease--tuberculosis. According to a WHO survey, every third citizen in Karachi suffers from one lung disorder or the other.

This brief account of the economy leads one to the conclusion that it is not possible to undertake an overall reconstruction of any Third World country including our own without first radically changing its socio-economic structure. It is, therefore, necessary that immediate steps should be taken to introduce the non-capitalistic system of production. Socialism, that is. Slogan-mongering won't do any longer.

Furthermore, there is enough evidence in our history--from the days of the Ummayyads and the Abbasids to the creation of Bangladesh--that Islam alone is no guarantee of unity in our ranks. If we wish to keep the country united, we will have to find out some other formula. Socialism offers the only way out. If we continue to stick to the capitalist system, the tensions in our society will also continue and imperialism will exploit these tensions as it has so often done in the past.--Anis Hashmi, 9/8, Firdos Colony, Karachi.

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BRIEFS

REFUGEES TO BE SENT TO CAMPS--Quetta, 29 Feb (AMN News)--The government has decided that Afghan refugees who have settled in cities would be sent back to the camps and tent villages established for them. This decision was taken in a high level meeting of the officials of the province's home department. It was said in the meeting that the refugees settling in cities and surrounding areas created many problems for the administration as well as the local population. According to reliable sources, about 10,000 to 12,000 refugees are living and working in different localities of Quetta. Many refugees have acquired property, and since they have done so by means of fake identity cards, such acquisitions are being declared illegal. Official sources say that action will be taken against refugees who obtain fake identity cards and also against government employees who help refugees obtain such cards. [Karachi AMN in Urdu 1 Mar 84 p 6]

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